PREFACE

The Yuman tribes on the Gila River were originally the Maricopa 101
and Kaveltcadom alone. Prior to 1800, the Maricopa occupied 131
the river above Gila Bend; the Kaveltcadom, a hitherto-175
unrecorded Halchidhoma speaking group, lay from the Bend downstream halfway to the Colorado. These are the Cocomaricopa and Opa of early Spanish records. About the opening of the nineteenth century the Maricopa shifted a few miles eastward to the middle Gila, where they established themselves in close proximity to the Pima. Here they were joined between 1825 and 1830 by the Halchidhoma fleeing from the Colorado. A decade later (1838–39) the remnant of Kohuana and Halyikwamai followed the Halchidhoma from the Colorado, and about the same time the Kaveltcadom were absorbed from the lower Gila. Since all these movements took place under wholly aboriginal conditions, it seems legitimate to refer to them now in the aggregate as tribes of the Gila River.

It must be understood that the descriptions of the present account 101
apply to the Maricopa unless specifically ascribed to the 171
other tribes. The mixed community has been Maricopa in speech 174
and essentially Maricopa in custom since its formation a century ago. My impression is that in material culture the Maricopa, Kaveltcadom, and Halchidhoma were essentially alike in the days before their commingling, so that in this respect the description of the Maricopa must also apply to the others. It proved possible to get specific information on most of Halchidhoma non-material culture, so that in the second instance, this paper embodies a description of that people. Notes on the Kaveltcadom, Kohuana and Halyikwamai are incidental.

Maricopa and Halchidhoma spoke barely separable dialects. 197
Yuma was intelligible to them; Mohave and Walapai-Havasupai-Yavapai were closely related, but unintelligible. The other lower Colorado Yuman tribes, Cocopa, Kohuana, and Haly-

197 kwamai spoke tongues similar or identical with each other, but
set off from Maricopa-Halchidhoma.

101 The Maricopa have been historically linked with the adjacent
Pima. For this reason they have been invariably dismissed as
114 merely Pima-like by earlier writers who uniformly approached
171 from the side of the historically more important, and more numerous,
Pima. Their culture was, however, not that of the Pima.
It was rather a lower Colorado culture resembling the Pima to no
greater degree than the Pima themselves resembled the lower
Colorado peoples.

101 There are today two Maricopa communities; one in the confluence
of the Gila and Salt Rivers, the other, smaller, on the south
131 bank of the Salt at Lehi, a few miles north of Mesa. To the local
whites, all the members of these communities are "Maricopa."
Actually they consist of the five Yuman tribes mentioned above,
intermarried through several generations. It would be difficult to
say whether Maricopa or Halchidhoma blood is now preponderant:
the Kohuana, Halykwamai, Pima, and lesser ingredients,
such as Yuma, are small. Today they form tribally unsegmented
communities of Maricopa speech.

131 The larger Maricopa community in the Gila-Salt confluence
[162] numbers somewhat under three hundred individuals. Their scattered
houses lie on the extreme western end of the Gila River
Indian Reservation, a few miles west of Laveen and about fifteen
[648] southwest of Phoenix. There is little contact with the Pima villages,
the nearest of which is now ten miles southeast near Gila
[121] Crossing. All the notes on which this paper is based were obtained
from this community. That at Lehi was not visited. The
[162] Lehi group was said to consist of a half dozen families, primarily
Halchidhoma. The earlier location of these mixed groups was on
[175] both sides of the Gila from Gila Crossing for ten miles upstream
to Pima Butte. This area was abandoned in favor of the present
locations a half century ago. There is now no Yuman-speaking
person in their former territory, nor on the so-called Maricopa
Indian Reservation twenty-five miles south, and none in the Gila
Bend district.

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177 Little of the ancient culture remains, the "Maricopa" having

happily effected the change to modern rural conditions. Every 105
household still has its metate and mortar in daily use; mesquite 177
and other wild plants are sometimes gathered; grain is still stored in basket granaries; cookery is not entirely transformed; occasionally a cradle-board is constructed and its binding band woven; a few gourd rattles survive, and at least one calendar stick. Quantities of pottery are yet made by the ancient process; the bulk is modified to suit tourist tastes, but the common cooking pots of former days are to be found at every hearth. On the other hand the ancient dress, houses, and implements have gone completely. Native varieties of corn, beans, pumpkins, cotton, and tobacco have disappeared. Non-material elements have survived to some degree. To be sure, dances have long been forbidden, with shamanism, and the songs have disappeared with these. I was told that no living person has had dreams of the ancient type. There is one possible exception, a man with some pretensions to shamanistic knowledge, but I was unable to make contact with him. Only a few know fragments of the old song series, although the knowledge of their names and functions is well preserved. On the whole though, the old religious outlook persists: few of them are Christians. The younger people incline to agnosticism; older ones will call in a Pima shaman, or did so until a few years ago. Chiefs are a thing of the past and were probably never of much moment. The sib system and its attendant naming habits is undoubtedly the most flourishing part of the old thought system, although it too is beginning to disintegrate. But the old culture persists best in everyday behavior: mannerisms, sayings, personal relations, and speech. Although all the younger people and many of middle age speak English as well after a fashion, Spanish is little known.

On the whole, the Maricopa today are as much deculturated [171]
as the Yuma and Mohave and perhaps as much so as the Pima. Far less is open to direct observation than among the Papago and Western Apache. All items of non-material culture in the present account are the result of inquiry. Some fragments of material culture are still extant, and I found it quite possible to have

175 648 "white man." Today, following the solecism of uneducated whites, x̣iko' is reserved for Americans, but nevertheless a Mexican is called x̣iko'x̣an, "real white man." They may also be called, like members of a foreign tribe, pipakwa'm, "foreign man" (as differentiated from âhua, "enemy").

[186] The Maricopa attitude toward the Halchidhoma was one of amused tolerance. The Maricopa thought them a queer lot: any unusual action was explained, "Oh, he is an Halchidhoma." [101] From this the latter took their name, derived, according to Mrs. Redbird, from xalyaϑŏ'mbâg, "people with queer ways." This may, of course, be a folk-etymology. A number of tales were told to illustrate the point, which, by the way, serve also to indicate the character of their humor.

539 When the Halchidhoma lived on the Colorado, they would not protect themselves. If an enemy arrived and someone gave the alarm, they would remain in their houses, saying, "Well, it is not right to fight just one or two." So they were easily killed.

The Halchidhoma would never protect themselves by gathering their forces at once. That is why they were killed off.

One of them stole into the Yuma meeting house unrecognized, and heard them planning to fight. A second night he went in but fell asleep. When he went in he put mud all over his hair [like the Yuma]. He slept until mid-morning. When he rose, he did not know what to do, for it was broad daylight. A family was eating outside, so he went back, and arranged his hair to fall over his face. Then he walked out of the house slowly. They thought he was a Yuma, but when he had almost reached the nearby bushes, they realized he was a foreigner. They called to each other, "An enemy!" But he ran off as fast as he could. This man always did such funny things.

Two young Halchidhoma went to war against the Yuma. A little before sunset, the Yuma were eating. There was a willow tree standing near them. One of the Halchidhoma climbed into it and imitated a screech owl. The other hid in the arrowweeds close by. One of the Yuma said, "I am going to hit that baby screech owl," and threw a big stone at the man in the tree. It hit him on the head, and down he crashed. The man in hiding heard him fall and burst out laughing instead of running away. The man who fell ran as fast as he could, but his companion laughed so hard that the Yuma overtook and killed him.

An Halchidhoma was hiding in the bushes near the Yuma. He overheard two Yuma who were playing hoop and pole. One had bet a horse. The other announced he had won it and had already put beads around its neck and a rope halter. He described precisely where it was. So the Halchidhoma stole away and ran to the horse, got it, and circling around, rode home with it.

The Maricopa say the Halchidhoma had such queer ways. One of them might

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[171] (Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, IV, 497). It appears in the languages of Shoshoneans adjacent to the Yumans: Chemehuevi haiku, Kitanemuk aiaikikam, Vanyume haiko-y-am (Kroeber, *Shoshonean Dialects*, p. 73).

[241]
from these in that it was sometimes cultivated. This was a weed 222
resembling tall Bermuda grass. The seeds were pounded in a 252
mortar to remove the hulls, sprinkled with water, and ground on a metate. The meal was mixed into a dough with a little salt. It was baked in the ashes, which were later washed off, and eaten with mesquite bean soup and the like. The seeds of ȧgwa'vȧ, probably pigweed, were also eaten.

While seeds appear to have been gathered in the late fall, i.e., December, berries were gathered in May and June. A bush about four feet tall, ax̣tŏ'tȧx̣a'n, bore little sweet red berries. The berries were washed and thrown into hot water to boil. They [272]
cooked quickly. This was strained through a cloth, the berries mashed, and replaced in the liquor. This was used as a drink. Sometimes ground wheat (not mesquite) was cooked in this for a mush. If they wished to store the boiled berries, they were spread [251]
on a cloth in the shade, and stored in pots when thoroughly dry. Similar berries, ax̣tŏ'tȧvi' (so called because they were bitter?), were prepared in exactly the same way. Mistletoe (kamu'c) grew plentifully on the mesquite bushes. Sprigs of this were gathered, the berries stripped off and boiled to furnish a juice which was sticky but tasteless. This was used as a liquor for wheat mush. Somewhat later than these, in June, the little blueblack berries of Crucifixion thorn (? uwe') were gathered. They were mashed in a basket to make a foamy liquid which was eaten without cooking. Sometimes the berries were dried and stored: when wanted they were soaked in hot water.

A sifter (cax̣aʀa'c) was used with the ax̣tŏ't berries. This was [415]
elliptical, like those of the Pima,[4] shallow, and about a foot long. Thin willow twigs were laid transversely and longitudinally, and bound to the willow hoop.

When a young girl had gathered ax̣tŏ't and uwe' berries for the first time, it was customary for some older woman to mash and rub them on the girl's arms so she would be industrious.

The nuts of the abundant ironwood tree were ground and [171] ●
leached after the fashion in which California Indians prepare acorns. By the end of the season, October, they are said to lie

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[4] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 146.

252 [222] thickly under the trees. Gathered in piles, they were beaten until broken, winnowed in baskets, and the meats taken home. Several women together parched them by tumbling with coals; then they were finally ground on the metate and again winnowed in baskets. This occupied a morning. At noon the ground meal was taken to the river bank, where it was put in a big hole, prepared by firmly patting down the sand. One woman alone proceeded to [463] leach the bitter meal; one who was specially versed in the technique. She was called "a woman with dry hands" (ica'l,âsûth, "dry hands"). She alone fetched water to pour through the meal, repeating the soaking as it drained away. All afternoon was required for this task. So long as the nuts remained bitter, the water poured on them continued foamy. When the liquid was finally clear, all the women cut the meal cake with sharp sticks, lifted out their portions, carefully scraped the sand from the bottom, and carried them home in baskets. This was eaten dry.

The little sour beans of the cholla cactus (? âtŏ't; also the beans), ripening in March or early April (?), were pit roasted. These were placed on a flat rock in the mountains to be rolled about with a stick to remove the spines. The pit in which they were roasted was small (up to two feet in diameter, one foot deep), since the beans were only about the size of peanuts, and it was hard work to fill the hole. Flat stones were heated in the pit. Late in the evening the beans were put in the hole on a layer of branches of a certain green bush covering the hot stones. They were heaped higher than the surface of the ground, covered with another layer of the same bush, then more hot stones, and banked with a little dirt. A small fire was started over this to keep the stones hot. They were ready in the morning, when they were taken out to dry, while the women went off to gather more.

[222] Opuntia cactus fruit, which was rare in this locality, was gathered in September. It was eaten only fresh, and was said to [824] give the eater chills.[5] The prickly pear was rolled on the ground with a stick to remove the fine spines or brushed with a bit of sage bush. Tongs were unknown. It was split, peeled, and the 824 [331] [171] flesh eaten raw. (Sometimes the juice was squeezed on a white horse to make decorative spots.)

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[5] Lloyd (p. 123) notes identical Pima opinion.

527 gourd), which he gave to his guest. He continued plying him
[574] with liquor until he was drunk. Then he himself drank and after
[273] that furnished it to the friends of the man invited.

533 The song for this dance was x̣atca′, "wine"; sung at no other
527 time. "When they were drunk they thought of war." The song
273 told of "red water," i.e., blood, and how it was made.[7] It told
how the enemy had come to drink with them: they had joined in
battle, now they would drink together. The intoxication and the
[721] incitement of song commonly ended in a decision to go on a raid.
At the time the sahuaro was harvested, the Yavapai were camping in the mountains not far distant, not, as in winter, in isolated caves.

273 The drink is said to have been only mildly intoxicating. Neither the flower stalk of the mescal nor sprouted corn were used for fermented drinks, as by the White Mountain Apache.

527 The celebration was called x̣atca′poŭm, "water mixing" (a
192 folk etymology?); the fruit, a′a′; the dried fruit hamă′nᵧᵃ; its
syrup, a′anyâxa′ (sahuaro's water"?); the drink x̣atca′ or x̣atca′csiu′m, "wine drink."

CULTIVATION

241 Some field crops were planted by the Maricopa: corn, beans,
black-eyed peas, pumpkins, watermelons, cotton, and ĭkca′mac
●[171] seeds. Relatively to the lower Colorado tribes and certainly to
the Pueblos, comparatively little planting was done. It is not
[177] altogether certain how much corn was cultivated since corn
seems to have been almost entirely supplanted by wheat at an early date, even before whites settled in the immediate district. Even then my informants were certain that mesquite, rather than wheat, was the staple in their childhood (the middle of the last century).

The fields lay in the bottom lands of the Gila River, on flood plains subject to inundation, where planting took place immediately on the subsidence of the waters. According to native in-
[133] formants, the principal floods were those of December and Janu-
[132] ary, with rains again in April and September.

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[7] The drink is blood-red in color (Davis, *Papago Ceremony of Vikita*, p. 176), but my Maricopa informants said that x̣atca′ meant neither "blood" (nᵧihwī′t) nor "red water."

ary, with rains again in April and September. They depended 241 wholly on the inundations and on sub-surface seepage, true irrigation being unknown. Irrigation ditches first came into use, according to Kutox, only when he was a small boy (1850–55).

This late date for the introduction of ditch irrigation among the Maricopa 171 may not be correct, although there is nothing flatly contradictory in the documentary record. An extensive system of ditches was observed by Font and Gar- 175 cés among the Pima of the Casa Grande–Casa Blanca district as early as No- 241 vember, 1775. They describe the fields divided by fences of poles, a main ditch surrounding the whole with laterals to individual fields, and a rudimentary dam of logs and branches to raise the Gila to the ditch level. Bartlett's observations in 1852 may apply only to the Pima, although it is unlikely, or may record the Maricopa use soon after the introduction of ditches. He wrote, "The whole of this plain [occupied by the Pima and Maricopa] is intersected with irrigating canals from the Gila, by which they are enabled to control the waters, and raise the most luxuriant crops." On the other hand, inundations alone were relied on at Gila Bend (Opasoitaç, the Kaveltcadom-Maricopa settlement). Font wrote, "These Opas Indians support themselves from their fields of wheat, maize, and calabashes, and apparently they do not eat so much pechita and tornillo [mesquite] as the Gileños [Pima]. Because they live near their fields, the settlement or rancherías embrace a stretch about a league long on the bank of the river. From it they do not run irrigating ditches, because from near the end of the Sierra de Comars [Sierra Estrella], near the Laguna del Hospital, the Gila river and the Assumpción [Salt River] come united; and since the channel is very wide and carries a large amount of water now, and more during the time of the floods, for then it spreads out a long distance and waters a large area of level land, by means of this irrigation they obtain their harvests." At the same time and place Garcés observed, "Here the Indians raise all sorts of grain, and regularly two crops each year, whether the season be good or bad; but apparently an acequia can be brought from the river," implying that none were in use there. The greater volume of water below the mouth of the Salt made it possible to rely on inundation alone. It may be that the Maricopa preserved this traditional type of farming for a time after moving eastward to the neighborhood of the Pima.[8]

An individual's land holdings were in a continuous strip, not 423 in scattered patches. Only when he was living away from home [241] temporarily, did he clear and plant a small field elsewhere. The land he occupied was of his own choosing or inherited from his father. There was no distribution by allotment, as recorded for the Pima,[9] nor had the chief any voice in the matter. "He did not

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[8] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, IV, 43, 51; Coues, I, 107, 116; Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 232.

[9] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 82. We may suspect that this is not an aboriginal custom of the Pima, but dates, like a similar Maricopa usage, from the day when these tribes were located on their reservations.

423 own the land: we all owned it, so that a man could choose what land he pleased." Women also owned fields, that is, normally only widows who had no male members of their families to plant for them.

[133] Since floods were slow and mild on the Gila, a stream with low gradient and wide flood plains, there were no difficulties caused by a marauding stream necessitating relocation of the fields.

Boundaries came into dispute: such quarreling had its special name, x̣amĭltŏ′tȧ ak$_y$e′vȧm, "[boundaries] bristling side by side." This was one of the rare occasions when the dead were named, not in insult, but as warrant of ownership. "My father had his land over to there, but when you took it you pushed it [the boundary] over to here"; to which the other would reply, "No, my land extended farther to your side." Exasperating and
[578] drawn-out quarrels arose over minute pieces of land. If they
[627] finally reached the fighting stage, a third man was called on to decide. He might say, "Your land is good enough to that place, so give up this little piece for his benefit, so he will not have any more to say," or he would divide the disputed patch equally.
● [171] There were, however, no pushing contests or stick fights over disputed boundaries in the manner of the Mohave.[20]

Cultivation in all its stages was man's work, but gathering the
462 harvest was woman's alone. At that time men were busy making
[343] the store houses for pumpkins and watermelons. An old woman, with no men to help her, would, of course, plant for herself.

It is now difficult, with the old fields long done away with, to
423 discover what the ownership of field tracts may have been. But
428 it seems to have followed on this male occupation with cultivation that fields were, on the whole, regarded as the personal possessions of men. Inheritance was specifically said to be in the male line. Normally when a man died, the land was inherited by his immediate family: his widow, sons and daughters. Ultimately it came into the possession of the children. A daughter would get some one to plant for her. It may well be that daughters did
423 not transmit their claim.

768 During the period of mourning, the survivors made no use of

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[20] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 744.

the land, allowing it to lie fallow for a year, provided they were 423 768
able to live by gathering wild products. But if a widow had young children dependent on the crops, they would plant the season following (half a year later). On the owner's death they invited others to turn horses into his tract to clear it off as quickly as possible. If the crop was ripe the widow might tell relatives or neighbors to take it, "because while her husband was dying they had stayed night and day with her when they might have been planting for their own use." However should someone other than the male owner die, they might destroy the crops in this fashion, but usually not. This reinforces the conviction that title to the land was vested in men, but that all members of the family had some presumptive right to its use.

Two crops a year were obtained, as today by the white farmers 241
of the Gila-Salt valleys, by planting in the early spring and again 614
in midsummer. This biannual cropping system was coördinate 805
with a biannual calendar, the series of month names opening 824
with the planting of the first crop in early February and repeated with the second crop of late July or early August. Since the month names were also those of the sibs, there has derived a triple association of sib, month, and plant as totem. This does [171]
not imply that the association was historically primary with the Maricopa, since the lower Colorado tribes share it. Only one cultivated plant was so associated; corn with xavâtca'c sib, the other totem plants being wild. Xavâtca'c was the name given the lunation during which corn was planted: January–February and again July–August.

Corn was planted when the trees budded in early February, 241
following the drying off of the floods of the preceding month which left the fields soft and moist. Pumpkins, beans, and black-eyed peas were planted at the same time, watermelons and cotton a month later. The beans and peas ripened about May, corn and watermelons in June, and pumpkins during the summer. A second crop of all these was obtained by planting again during July and the first half of August. Pumpkins and watermelons planted early in July and corn in early August would be ripe when the frost came in November. Cotton was planted in a sep-

241 arate patch at the same time as watermelons. The Maricopa and
[171] some of the Yumans of the lower Colorado planted seeds which
● grew wild locally. Here ĭkca'mac, a grass seed, alone was cultivated (see above).[11]

243 Six varieties or colors of corn were named: light red corn
824 (daϑi'cahwĭ't), dark red (daϑi'caḳa'ḳ), white (daϑi'cxama'l), yellow (daϑi'cȧkwĕ's), blue (daϑi'caxavȧcu'c), light pink (daϑi'ckal̦ă'p), and corn with streaked kernels (daϑi'caʀuwa'). It was impossible to secure specimens of these, since they are said to be no longer cultivated, with the exception of a single small ear, which I am not sure was a local product. This is similar to the
[171] small ears grown by the Havasupai and known to them as Mohave corn.

243 Corn was planted in little holes scratched with a planting stick, five or six kernels together in a hole, at a depth of about six
[412] inches. It grew rapidly, pushing through the earth in three or four days. The grain was not previously prepared, as by soaking, but an old man creeping along would hold kernels in his mouth where they absorbed some moisture, but solely because he would not want to go back for seed. After the stalks came up, hills were hoed up around them with the same stick.

[614] Corn was the totem of the xavȧtca'c sib. Hence they would say, as the first kernels were planted, "You [xavȧtca'c] are known
243 all over the world, are famous. Come up strong like that and
788 feed everybody, so that no one will go hungry." I was also told that a man or woman of this sib would be got to repeat the formula, "Put me down in your field; bury me. I will be glad to come up."

The planting stick (i'i'xamiĭ'ɫ or i'i'n̦ĭmȧx̣wĕ'lyĭc, "stick for
412 digging") was of cottonwood, about four feet long, two and a half inches in diameter, and flattened chiselwise for twelve inches at the lower end. It lacked the footrest of the Zuñi. My informant insisted on several occasions that they did not have the side-

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[177] [11] My informants maintained that modern cultivation has wholly wiped out this plant. Kroeber (*ibid.*, p. 736) mentions four normally wild plants cultivated by the Mohave, among them aksamta which may be the same plant.

scraper hoe of the Mohave,[23] but used the same planting stick as 412
a shovel, cultivating while standing.

Corn was almost always prepared on the metate before it was 252
used. If green the kernels were mashed; when dry they were thoroughly ground. It was almost always eaten in the form of mush. Green corn was mashed, wrapped in the husks, and either boiled or placed on a spot previously heated by the fire, covered further with husks, then ashes and a little fire until baked into a loaf. Green corn was sometimes lye-hulled: half-boiled, ashes added, and stirred until the hull came free of the kernel. It was also cut from the ears, mashed on the metate and boiled with salt. The flavor of roasted corn was preferred to boiled. Kernels of roasted corn were plucked from the ear with the thumb nail and the handful poured into the mouth.

Corn for storage was dried on the house roof and placed in the 251
basket granary either on the ear or shelled. Sometimes ears were
roasted on a pile of brush or coals and also dried on the roof. Or
the kernels were removed to dry on a cloth. Roasted ears were
not ordinarily prepared for storage, but if so, they too went into
the granary. Dry corn might be soaked in water and gently [252]
pounded in a mortar to remove the hulls.

Wafer bread, corresponding to that of the Pueblos and Hava- 252
supai, was made, but instead of a stone gridle, a lenticular pot- 415
tery plate (maϑi'l) was used. This was about a foot in diameter, [171] ●
and less than half an inch thick (Pl. VI, *i*). It was made very hot on the coals, when the thin corn batter could be rapidly spread over its concave side to form immediately as a wafer-thin cake called havâʀɪ'k or maϑi'lyâm. Corn of any color was used. This hot plate was in constant use in earlier days, since tortillas of parched wheat or seeds were made on it, the dough being patted out into cakes about the size of the hand.

Wheat, which displaced corn, was treated in much the same 251
fashion. The ears were fastened in bundles of an inch diameter, roasted on coals, and thrown on the roof to dry. These were stored in large pots, and when wanted the grain was beaten out.

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[23] *Ibid.*, p. 736.

252 Parched ground wheat became a common article of food in the
[484] form of gruel (the Mexican pinole). It was always carried when travelling, when it might be mixed to a dough in a cavity hollowed in the top of a barrel cactus if nothing else was available, then roasted on the coals.

251 Beans came in two varieties: a little white bean (maʀi'k x̣ama'l, "bean white") and a brown (maʀi'k gwi's, "bean yellow"). They were prepared alike. After being shelled they were spread on the ground for three or four days until dry, then stored
252 in the basket granary. They were boiled, not baked. Parched and ground, they were also added to ground wheat, with salt, to make a gruel. Boiled beans might be drained, then fried in a vessel having the shape of a parching pan.

241 Black-eyed peas (ax̣ma') are not aboriginal but like wheat have
177 been cultivated for a long time. Green pods were broken up like
252 our string beans and boiled. Like beans they might further be fried with fat. For storage they were broken, half-boiled in large
251 pots, spread out to dry and stored in similar vessels. Later green food might be had by boiling them further.

Pumpkins (x̣ama't) and squash were kept in the storehouses. The rind of the pumpkin was hacked off and the seeds scooped from the interior. After these had dried on the roof overnight, the vegetable was cut spirally in long strips which dried thoroughly while hung from a beam slung under a shade. The strips were looped into bundles, fastened by a turn of one end, for
252 storage. The usual preparation was chopped bits of pumpkin boiled, with ground wheat stirred in. Pumpkins were also roasted whole, after the stem end was removed, the seeds scooped out, and this plug replaced. They warmed them, turning each side to the fire, then baking them in the ground after the coals were raked away. Pumpkin blossoms were also cooked. After boiling them, they stirred in ground mesquite beans, which had been soaked and strained, and ground wheat. Squash was also cooked like beans: pieces were dropped into plenty of fat and stirred until thoroughly amalgamated, then salt was added.

Watermelons (kwiϑu'i) were known in two varieties, with pink
[171] and black seeds, as on the lower Colorado. Beside being eaten

fresh, the pulp might be squeezed between the hands, the liquor 252
strained through a cloth, and boiled to a syrup which was used on
corn bread or wheat tortillas. The melons were of some impor- [262]
tance in providing a fresh food during the winter. They were 251
stored in the storage houses adjacent to the dwellings, where they
may have been covered with sand to keep through the winter.
They were not ordinarily stored by burial in sand in the fashion [171]
of the lower Colorado tribes, but this was resorted to if they were [722]
to be hidden from the enemy.

HUNTING

The semi-desert environment of the Maricopa provided only a 224
meagre range of animals for food. Rabbits and other rodents
were relatively abundant, but large game was scarce in the immediate
vicinity. The larger mammals, such as deer and mountain
sheep, could be hunted in the mountains to the south and west,
but even there were by no means plentiful. A secondary source [226]
of flesh food was nearer home in the form of fish, with which the
streams were well stocked at certain seasons. Consequently the
Maricopa were primarily hunters of small game, chiefly rabbits,
and were also fishermen. They had little interest in ranging far
from home for larger game.

Rabbits, especially jackrabbits, bulked as large as mesquite in the food supply. In addition they took deer, mountain sheep, antelope, peccary, beaver, prairie dogs, doves, turkey, quail, and even made use of turtles, honey, and caterpillars, but none of these were regular foodstuffs. They stopped at nothing except outright carnivores, as well as dogs, badgers, gophers, ground squirrels, and porcupines, nor did they eat bird eggs.

Possibly because of a general indifference to hunting, tabus and rites were few. There was no notion here, as among the Havasupai, that wasting game made the hunter ill. A lad was prohibited from eating his kill, however, and mountain sheep hunting was something altogether special. Deer hunting was less restricted, but was preceded by a rite.

A lad dared not eat any animal, bird, or fish he caught. He brought it home and butchered it, but he had to give it away to

224 older people. This tabu applied not only to his first kill, but continued until he was full grown, twenty-five or thirty. Should he eat it blood might run from his mouth until he died, or at least he would never kill anything more. There was no ceremonial termination of the tabu. [171] This prohibition is not an unfamiliar provision but usually extends only to the first kill.[13]

262 All three local varieties of rabbits were eaten: jackrabbits (ȧkȧu'l$_y{}^A$), cottontail (xal$_y{}^A$au'), and the little chamissa or blue rabbit (xal$_y{}^A$au' ĭnyamtackωeʀ^A, "made slender by the sun rabbit"). Cottontails could be eaten by any one, but the others were held "poisonous." Chamissa was dangerous to little children, who therefore might not eat it. Jackrabbits were also somewhat "poisonous" for adults, but they nevertheless ate them.

[773] There is a confusion here, because according to myth the cottontail was considered poisonous, the others derivatively from the cottontail. 224 [753] In handling the raw flesh of jackrabbits they carefully avoided letting the least drop of blood splash on them, else they would sicken. And if a hair of this rabbit got into one's eye, he would be stricken blind.

Jackrabbits were sought rather than the smaller species. They were hunted chiefly in summer, when they were fattest, near where the women were at work gathering mesquite. They were exceptionally plentiful in the valley: a hunter returned from a day's hunt with at least four or five, sometimes as many as ten. [251] The excess beyond the day's needs were skinned, opened, and hung to dry on the house beams.

There was a saying (but it was regarded as no more than a saying) that when a man had set a day for hunting jackrabbits and it turned out cloudy, it was a sign he had been incontinent.

Although rabbit hunting was for the most part individual, organized drives were sometimes decided on at evening meetings. One man was chosen as leader (xalyȧaui'ck, "planner of rabbit killing"), who assigned men to their positions. Nets were set in

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[13] Pima, Havasupai, Kaibab, Paviotso, Shasta, Klamath (Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 191; Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 324; *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 168). The Maricopa extended tabu holds for the Kaibab Paiute: boys are forbidden to eat jackrabbits they themselves kill (Sapir, *Paiute Song Recitative*, p. 466).

side to talk of happy things. When they had finished smoking 224
four cigarettes, the same man would butcher and divide it among [276]
those present. They were careful to lift the flesh slowly from the
ground. If it were jerked up, rain would pour down and it would [821]
thunder hard. Even when carrying it home, they would walk their horses slowly all the way. When they neared home, those on horses dismounted slowly and carefully lifted off the meat. These men would divide the meat among their friends and relatives, or after it was cooked invite them to eat. Those to whom
it was given must thank the giver, else in winter it would rain [821]
hard or be very cold, or if summer, become so hot as to scorch the plants and sand storms blow. Similarly if one should beat or shake the mountain sheep skin or horns, the weather would be frightful. (The horns were not carried home.)[15] They had to be
careful at all points in handling the sheep. Women cooked its
flesh. It was not thrown into the pot, but put in slowly. Sticks [252]
had to be thrust into the fire slowly, too. Even when eating it, [264]
they chewed slowly, for fear of choking.

Peccaries were sometimes seen in the desert east of Sacaton; they were hardly ever found in Maricopa territory. Hence while the Pima hunted them, the Maricopa killed them only when
passing eastward, as on a war party. The meat was divided, [252]
roasted and eaten on the spot. The tusks were not used. While
the peccary is now known as k$_y$ω'chĭlyuvacâϑŏ'm, "wild pig," [825]
and the domestic pig as k$_y$ω'c, obviously the latter was the original name for the peccary.

Beavers (pĕm) were eaten, especially the fat tail. There were a great many beaver in the neighborhood. The entrances of the beaver house were stopped up, while they dug through its top, using their digging sticks to kill the inmates.

No one would eat ground squirrels (aϑi'c) for fear of deafness. [262]

Birds were not important in the diet and their eggs were never 223
eaten. Quail, mourning doves, and whitewing doves could be

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[15] Pima hunters also never brought home the horns. "Each man had a place
set apart where he deposited them in order that they might exert no evil influence [171]
upon the winds or rains." The Papago deposited mountain sheep tails with feathers at springs during rain ceremonies (Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 82).

All small game and

fish was cooked by men; women, however, cooked deer and 252
mountain sheep flesh. The reason is not apparent. [462]

Large mountain turtles (kapĕ't), about a foot across, were [262]
eaten; also by Papago and Yavapai according to my informant. [171]
These were usually baked in ashes; sometimes boiled. The shells [237]
were not used for any purpose.

Honey was occasionally obtained from the flower stalks of 222
mescal, but these contain very little. This was the product of large bees (mŭspo'kwĭni'l̦â, "black bee"). The classification of [825]
"bees" is rather interesting: working bees were called flies (x̹ălyâsmo''kwĭlyâvi'na); another bee with a yellow back (not a hornet) was mŭspo'cĭlyâmŏ'kkâkwĭ'sĭc; a fourth variety, resembling a wasp, was mŭspo'kwĭsĭ'c, "yellow bee." The nests of working bees were found and the insects killed individually, but their honey was not eaten.

A worm, called âmĕ' (more probably a caterpillar, since it was said to have a horn on each end) was caught, boiled, dried, and [252]
eaten.[17] They caught them in their hands in the spring and late autumn. There was a peculiar way of catching them: with one hand they caught the beast, broke off the end with the thumb nail, squeezed it out, and inserted it between the other fingers of the same hand. In some fashion they braided long strings of these, perhaps because the "worm" coiled around its fellows. Then they boiled and dried them. They were eaten dry or boiled. [252]
Dried "worms" were also heated in warm water and fried. The finger tips got sore gathering them.

Pets (n̦âx̹a'tk, "my dog," any pet) may be conveniently de- 231
scribed here. These were dogs and various birds. The chicken hawk was perhaps the sole bird deliberately excluded, because [753]
one who handled it would "get sick in the lungs." Turkeys were not pets.

Dogs (x̹atk) were said to be like present-day dogs; some black, others spotted. They were called by whistling or by calling their names. Several expressions were recorded: kâθi'k, kâθi'k, "come, come," govŭna'l̦ŭm, "get out, go away," sĭkiyĭ'mdĭk, "go

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[17] Said to travel rapidly. These are undoubtedly the same as the Pima [825]
ma'kŭm (*ibid.*, p. 81).

226 fish into the nets. The Maricopa used nets like these in the Salt River. There can be little doubt that the Halchidhoma used fish
227 scoops like Mohave and Maricopa.

[171] The fish scoop of the Maricopa was like that of the Mohave[21] but smaller (Pl. IV, *e*). An elliptical hoop of willow, three feet by eighteen inches, was provided with a series of longitudinal willow twigs bound to it. A long handle was fastened transversely to the hoop. A mate to this was a conical basket of willow twigs slung on the fisherman's back by a forehead band of rolled willow bark (Pl. IV, *d*). In form and construction it resembled the travelling mortar (Pl. XIV, *c*), having a willow hoop to which the twigs were bound. These were also bound together at the point and fastened on the side by several rows of twining. The small fish caught with the scoop were thrown over the shoulder into this basket. The scoop was called kwisǒ'tc; the basket kŭpȧʀω'c.

226 Spearing was unknown to the Halchidhoma and shooting fish not regularly employed. When the large "salmon" were caught, the net was almost torn to pieces. Then all the men joined in capturing it. It might be shot when driven into shallow water. Maricopa also shot fish in the shallow sloughs of their country. Such arrows did not have retrieving lines attached.

Young boys fished with cotton lines attached to the ends of long poles. Their hooks were the curved spines of the barrel
227 cactus, heated and bent. A hole was drilled in the butt to take the line. These were baited with worms. The lines were further furnished with floats of wood or pumice, said usually to have been crescentic, like one collected (Pl. XII, *b*). This, which had been found in a local ruin, was of a light vesicular stone and had been drilled through the middle so that the points stood vertically.[22]

501 Such boats as they had on the Colorado for fishing and ferryage were merely rafts formed of bundles of dry tules. My informant did not know how they were shaped. Such rafts might hold ten men and their nets. Sometimes an unshaped log was used: the Maricopa also used this. Catamarans (kopǒ'p) were

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[21] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 737.

[22] Washington State Museum, No. 2–11926.

also made for use in high water: these were two logs side by side 501
with sticks tied across them. They used their hands for paddling
and long punt poles. The Halchidhoma, like the Mohave, also [171]
ferried babies across the Colorado in large pots. These people [481]
were good swimmers; the Maricopa were not.

Fish were usually eaten fresh. The excess of a day's catch [262]
might be half broiled and hung to dry from the house beams. 251
But no attempt was made to keep them longer than a week. Whether this was because such soft-fleshed fish cannot be successfully dried, or for want of knowledge or interest, I do not know.

Fish were either broiled or boiled with corn. In any event, 252
they were always cooked by men, who served their wives before [462]
themselves. No reason was assigned for this, other than that it
was so strongly customary as to be obligatory. Men never ate
fish before their wives; when the wives had had enough they [264]
called their husbands.

Broiling was done by two methods. In one, the fish was always cut open along its right side near the backbone. If a man cut it on the opposite side, they made fun of him; told him to go back and grind his wheat (that is, that he was womanly, for he did not know how). The intestines cleaned away, the fish was spread open on the hot ground. Burning sticks were then propped over stones set around the fish so as to broil the upper side. All fish were treated in this fashion. They were broiled in this way very quickly. The other method consisted of cutting the fish along the belly, but not spreading the flanks. Again the coals were raked away, the fish laid side by side, and covered with ashes on which coals were heaped. It took all morning to cook them in this fashion.

They were boiled with salt. This took half a day. When done, [263]
finely ground corn, mixed with water to a thin gruel, was added
to the pot of fish. The cook, always a man, stirred this, not
round and round, but by inserting his stirrer down close to the
sides of the vessel and lifting the fish. After the corn was added,
another half hour was required to complete cooking. The stirrer [415]
used was a stick eighteen inches long, one and a half inches in

Mesquite branches were considered the best firewood; of these 372
the supply was abundant. Men would go out to burn down and 462
break up wood, but they would not carry it home; that was a woman's task. Nor would they fetch water, grind seeds, nor ordinarily cook. Men, however, would kindle the fire to warm the house in the evening. A fire to cook by was built of several large chunks of wood at the sides with sticks between. The common palm drill was used to light it.

The preparation of meals was laborious rather than compli- 252
cated. With mesquite as the staple, a large part of a woman's [462]
daily routine had to be given over to pounding it in a mortar and [512]
grinding it on the metate. The metate was also requisitioned for corn in all its stages and many of the wild seeds. Ability to labor
long and rapidly at it was reckoned the chief of a housewife's [584]
accomplishments; so much so that every prospective bride was set to work grinding by her mother-in-law to prove her proficiency. The wooden mortar came in for far less use. In it they [415]
broke up the mesquite beans preparatory to grinding on the metate, hulled various seeds and shelled corn. The principles of cooking were simple and few. Mesquite flour and tule pollen were preserved in cakes made by packing layer after layer into a hole. Other foods, vegetal and flesh, were half-broiled, roasted, or boiled to be dried for storage. In the final preparations for the meal, great use was made of baking in the ashes: seeds, stems, corn, and small grain were treated in this fashion.[23] For this the ground was heated, and the ashes with a few live coals raked back over the article. Boiling was, however, the mainstay in cooking, at least for vegetal products: mesquite, corn, seeds, pumpkins, squash, and beans regularly went into the pot. Mesquite gruel, and in later days wheat gruel (pinole), was commonly mixed with other foods: in fact, ground wild seeds were used for little more than to give variety to the flavor of the gruel. Pit roasting was rare, since mescal and cholla beans were obtained only infrequently. Parching with live coals in shallow bowls

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[23] The Papago also roast rabbits in ashes (Lumholtz, *New Trails in Mexico*, [171]
p. 334).

CHAPTER III

HOUSES

342 The Maricopa dwelling was dome-shaped, markedly flattened on top, and earth-covered. It was built on a central rectangular frame of posts linked by rafters, surrounded by a circular wall of poles bent over to be tied to the rafters, thatched, and dirt-covered. The construction was identical with that of the Pima ● [171] and Papago and different from the earth-covered, but rectangular, hip-roofed houses of Mohave and Yuma. Halchidhoma houses, and possibly those of the two other remnant groups, Kohuana and Halyikwamai, were identical with the Maricopa, at least since they joined the last on the Gila. Kutox insisted that 115 he had been told that still earlier the Halchidhoma houses on the 175 Colorado River had been of the same form. (He knew the rec- 342 tangular Mohave house.) But it is more than probable that he was mistaken since the known house forms of the lower Colorado (Mohave, Kamia, and Yuma) were all rectangular. Garcés in May 1774 remarked that the Halchidhoma "have better and larger houses than any I have seen" among the Yuma and on the Gila.[1]

177 342 The modern houses in the Maricopa community are for the most part of the Mexican jacal type: a rectangular structure having walls formed of posts at short intervals, with adobe between, held in place and protected against the wash of rain by horizontal ribs of the inner wood of the giant cactus nailed in place. The roof is flat, consisting of beams, sticks, brush and dirt (Pl. III, *A, C*). A solitary house of different construction was the home of the last surviving Kohuana in 1930 (Pl. III, *B*). It has the same wall posts and roof. The walls are thatched, however, with thick layers of arrowweed, held in place by horizontal willow branches inside and out, tied together through the thatch at intervals. This was [171] said to be in imitation of the Mexicans, but the form is known to Pima and Papago.[2] There are now no houses of the ancient type.

34 Anciently house constructions included the flat-domed, earth-covered dwelling; the meeting house, which was but a larger

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[1] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 386.

[2] Kissell, *Basketry of the Papago and Pima*, p. 147.

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main posts nor even a meeting house, which, being larger, might have called for such an arrangement. It was suggested that he had confused the construction with that of the shade. This is quite likely, for he was, in fact, using a shade with its conventional nine posts for demonstration. There is also a possibility, though slight, that the Maricopa and Halchidhoma houses may have differed in this particular. Further, the gable roof he described resembled that of Mohave-Yuma [171] houses. Bartlett stated that for the small houses four posts were used, nine for "larger dwellings"; the latter may have been the meeting houses.

342 The ground plan of a house was never laid out by accurate measurement, neither the distance between posts nor the circumference. At most one of the long posts was laid on its side to give the distance between the corner posts.

Before the house was thatched, willow poles were bound horizontally around the wall poles on the outside. These could not have been more than a foot or a foot and a half apart, since a high house was said to have six or eight such ribs. The walls were thatched with green arrowweeds placed in two rows. The lower row was of shorter weeds than the upper. Both rows were placed so that the butt ends were uppermost. Horizontal willow ribs were tied outside of this thatch to hold it in place, the withes passing through the thatch to the inner ribs and vertical wall poles. For the roof, lengths of arrowweed stem were laid longitudinally on the transversely set rafters. (These were broken to length under the foot.) The green leafy parts of the arrowweeds were then piled over these, but lying transversely. These had the stem-end in (in Kutox's house, nearest the ridge) so that the tips protruding beyond the "eaves" would hang over the upper part of the wall. The arrowweed layer in all was six inches deep. The roof was then covered with dirt to as much again, so that the whole covering was a good foot thick. Dirt was banked all around the periphery of the house and as far up the wall as its curvature would permit. It was patted firmly in place. To hold the dirt on the upper slope, bundles of arrowweed were tied horizontally over the thatch all the way around to give a footing for the dirt cover. These were not only tied with willow twigs, but were propped on bundles of arrowweeds set vertically to help support the great weight. The dirt available at most house sites was adobe, which from its clayey nature was admirably adapted ally at a little distance to the southeast. This resembled the central frame of the dwelling, was of the same height but perhaps greater area, and invariably was framed on nine posts, set three in a row. The roof was covered with arrowweeds but not dirt. Sometimes willow branches were placed vertically on the west side against the sunshine, but all the sides were never enclosed. This structure furnished shade in summer: it never served as a dwelling. 343

Beneath the shade stood several mesquite posts supporting large jars for the storage of water. These stood about thirty inches high and, like those of the Pima and Papago,[7] had three short branches to hold the jar. The mouths of these jars were usually unprotected but sometimes covered by Pima baskets. [415] [312] [171]

Travelling parties never built houses of any description, perhaps because they were never far from home and even then within the enemy's striking distance. Further, families ordinarily left home to gather mesquite, etc., only in the summer when shade, rather than any other protection, was needed. They camped under the overhanging boughs of big trees. The White Mountain Apache custom of enclosing the camp in a ring of brush to keep out flying sand was unknown. 484 342

Each dwelling was also provided with a single storehouse (va'na'ʀȧ). There was no conventional place for its location: it stood in front, rear, or at the side of the house indifferently. In form it was simply a gable roof set over a pit. This pit was oval, six to eight feet long, and almost knee deep. A post was set up in the pit near each end, a ridge pole connecting the pair. Willow branches were stuck into the ground around the brink of the pit so that they would lean against the ridge. (They were not tied to it.) Other willows were lashed horizontally to these to form two ribs around sides and end, one above the other. Arrowweeds were then placed over the frame as carefully as the thatch of the dwelling. There were three rows of thatch; the first, stem end up, all around at the base; another, also stem up, at a higher level; the third row, stem end down, lapped over the ridge. No outer ribs were needed to hold this thatch in place, since the house was 343

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[7] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 127; Dorsey, *Indians of the Southwest*, p. 203.

343 so low (only three or four feet above the ground level at the ridge) that the dirt, now banked around it and spread over the whole, held it firmly. The ridge pole ran east and west; the tiny entrance, through which one could just creep, was in the eastern gable-end. Logs piled one on another closed the opening. A man working alone took a month to build such a storehouse, but [476] friends or relatives usually helped. They were fed by him but not [251] otherwise paid. Melons, pumpkins, and similar foodstuffs were stored in these houses.

Modern storage houses are like those described by Bartlett in 1852. These are 177 small rectangular houses, the walls consisting of stakes set close together and pro- 343 vided with a dirt-covered roof. The space between the wall stakes usually allows free circulation of air, but Bartlett remarks, "They are wattled with straw and rushes, and are sometimes covered with a thick layer of mud."[8] This has become the modern residential type.

343 While basket granaries were quite unlike these structures in 251 construction, they stood so invariably as part of the house group -285 that they should be described here. The granaries (sàkwi'n) were huge nest-like affairs crudely coiled of bunches of arrowweed, one or more of which stood near every house. They were three to five feet in diameter, three to four feet high, depending, of course, on the amount of material to be stored. These were, strictly speaking, not baskets at all, since they lacked a bottom, but thick-walled, coiled cylinders. The process of their manufacture was [171] exactly that described by Kissell for the Pima.[9] Mrs. Redbird, who made a small granary for me as a model, used a base ring taken from an old granary, and wove counter-clockwise working on the outside of the near edge. They were woven by both men and women; those who did not know how, employed experts. These granaries lasted for years.

251 The granaries rested on a low platform or were half-buried: 343 they were not placed on the roof as by the Pima. A crib-work was built to raise them off the ground a foot or more to keep the contents dry and away from rodents. This consisted of two short

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[8] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 234.

[9] Kissell, *Papago and Pima Basketry*, p. 178; see also Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 144.

345 posts, in two rows north and south, with four auxiliary posts nearer the doorway (Fig. 6, *d*). Nine main posts would be used only if three additional were needed when they thought the original six were rotted. The whole was thatched and dirt covered like the dwelling. A meeting house was called matâluwe'vâs (said to be from âma't, "dirt"; luwe'vâ, "meeting," but this is doubtful; compare the words for councillors, matâsĭ'nyŭk, "those who agree" and matâwi'kĭk, "helpers").

The meeting house was essentially a man's club house and sweat house like those of central California and the Pueblo estu- ●[171] fa-kiva. Like the southern Californian forms, it was not a dance house. Its appearance here is significant, because as Kroeber has pointed out, this structure was lacking among the Colorado River tribes.[10]

The eastern sweat house was also in use; the true miniature 343 sweat lodge, not an assembly house. (Whether the Halchidhoma also had them is unknown, but it is not likely.) This was hemispherical, three and a half feet high, just big enough for a single person, and covered with arrowweed (?) and mud. A fire was built inside as in the Californian sweat house of the assembly [171] type; heated stones were not used, as in the western plateaus and the Plains.[11] When the fire had burned to coals, these were spread, and covered with dirt: one sat on this. Bathing followed [515] sweating. The little lodge was built near the dwelling of the owner; others, including women, used it without pay. Sweating [757] was to rid one's self of illness, not for pleasure. The lodge was called matĭl$_y$âci'l$_y^{a}$, "flesh roaster."

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[10] Kroeber, *Handbook*, pp. 365, 810.

[11] Cf. Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*. p. 343.

CHAPTER IV

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Everyday clothing for both sexes was quite scanty. A man 291 wore a breechclout, a woman a fringed skirt with brief aprons beneath; young children went naked. A cape of rabbit-skin or a cotton blanket was thrown over the shoulders against the cold. Hats were unknown, and sandals used only on journeys. So far 171 ● as is known Maricopa and Halchidhoma had identical clothing and adornment. Scanty clothing and the bare foot habit aligns 291 these tribes with Californian and Basin peoples. On the other hand, while the woman's fringed skirt is Californian, the breechclout is not, but aligns with other Southwestern peoples and the east.

Garcés stated of the Halchidhoma in 1776, "It must be observed that these 171 Jalchedun Indians are the best dressed [of the Colorado River tribes], not only 175 in such goods as they themselves possess, but also in such as they trade with the Jamajabs [Mohave], Genigueches [Serrano], Cocomaricopas, Yabipais [Yumans 291 of upland Arizona generally], and Moquis, obtaining from these last mantas, girdles, and a coarse kind of cloth (sayal), in exchange for cotton, of which they raise much." Previously (1774) he had written, "The majority of them go dressed with blankets and blue cloth from Moqui and the Pimería."[1]

In 1744 Sedelmair simply observed of the Cocomaricopa, "The women all go honestly garbed, some with petticoats of cotton or deerskin; most covered from the waist to the knees with inner bark of the willow, of which, pounded and prepared, they make a sort of petticoat."[2]

The people of Gila Bend (Kaveltcadom, Maricopa, or both) were described by Font in November 1775 as going "dressed in their blankets of cotton and likewise others of black wool, with white stripes, which they obtain from El Moqui [439] [Hopi]." Very significantly he added, "Here we began to see the women with little skirts such as the Yumas wear, which they make from the inner bark of cottonwood and willows. This, with a deerskin which they tied and wear from the waist down, is their attire. The men go somewhat covered with blankets." Just previously he had observed of the Pima below Casa Grande: "Of the sayal they make their cotton breeches, and those who did not have breeches supply their place with a blanket gathered up and tied, while the women cover themselves

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[1] Coues, II, 423; Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 386.

[2] Sedelmair, p. 851.

171 with deerskin." The same substitute for breechclouts was observed by Bartlett,
175 who in the summer of 1852 remarked that "the dress of the Coco-Maricopa and
291 Pimos is the same. . . . . The men in general go naked, except the breechclout.
A few, however, are provided with their native blankets of large size, which they
fold and throw over their shoulders in the manner of the Mexicans. Some fasten
them around their waists in graceful folds, letting the ends fall to their knees;
then drawing a cord between their legs and attaching it to their waists, their garment
resembles a capacious pair of pantaloons. I suppose that all are provided
with cotton blankets; but, owing to the almost incessant heat of the day, they
seldom wear them. At night, when cool, these constitute their sole covering."[3]

It is doubtful that the men ever went wholly naked.[4] While
291 none of my informants had witnessed truly aboriginal conditions,
Last Star believed that in earlier times, say in his father's
day, men never went without at least a breechclout, not even old
men.

It must be borne in mind that mid-winter on the Gila is quite
132 cold. Yet the Maricopa did not carry torches to warm themselves
in the manner of the lower Colorado tribes, as attested by
Alarcon and other Spanish writers.[5] When travelling, the
[484] Maricopa would scrape ashes into a hole, covering these with dirt, to
lie on for warmth.

The man's breechclout was a woven strip of willow bark, less
291 than a foot wide, hung fore and aft over a belt. The pendent
flaps hung to the knees in front, to the upper calf behind. Some
had only the central portion woven, that which passes between
the legs, and the ends hanging in fringes. According to Kutox
286 the clout was woven on a horizontal loom: a continuous warp
291 passed to and fro over the loom bars, with willow strings as wefts
twined across at intervals of one and a half inches. Last Star's
information is rather to be trusted: that the strip was woven of
bark strands in checkerboard weave, without the use of a loom.
291 A specimen he made illustrates this (Plate IV, *a*).[6] The belt was

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[3] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, IV, 49, 52, 53; Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 229; cf. I, 452.

[4] Cf. the Yuma (Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 92).

[5] Sedelmair implied that the custom was in vogue on the several rivers he traversed in 1744, among them the Gila, but one cannot be certain that he was not generalizing from what he saw on the Colorado River (Sedelmair, p. 851).

[6] Peabody Museum, Yale University, No. 19077.

a stout willow bark cord rolled on the thigh. This was tied at one 291
side at the hip. Belts of human hair, their own or enemies', known to the Yokuts and in southern California,[7] were not used.

The woman's fringed skirt was also of willow bark. It descended to mid-calf, hanging free in a thick bushy mass covering the thighs as fully as the front and buttocks. In other words it was in no sense two aprons as among the generality of Basin and Californian peoples. The thighs were covered at all times.[8] A belt, a cord of this bark rolled on the thigh, formed a foundation over which one end of each strand was doubled. In a specimen[9] made by Last Star (Pl. IV, *b*) these strands are held in place by two willow bark cords twined through them immediately below the belt or foundation cord. At each end the twined cords are crossed and tied to the belt-foundation in a square knot. By this twining the bark strands are pulled together as closely as possible. Kutox described an alternative method for fastening them: a cord sewed through them close to the belt cord. Since informants spoke of the skirt as woven on a belt-foundation, it may well be that several such strands were placed close to the belt. At least, the fringes hung free in a bushy mass, neither twisted, rolled, nor knotted together. These strips of willow bark were narrow, string-like, not broad like those seen among the lower Colorado tribes. Women did not use an additional belt to secure their skirts.

Under the skirt was worn a little apron in front and another
behind. These were fabrics of cottontail rabbit skin or fine wil- [281]
low bark closely woven, about ten inches wide, sixteen or more
inches long. These correspond to the small under-apron worn by [171]
the Havasupai women.[10]

Bartlett, on the other hand, mentioned only skirts of cotton cloth. "The 175
women fold the smaller blankets or other cloths, and pass them around their loins, 291
letting them hang to their knees. They are sometimes fastened with one of the

[7] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 840.

[8] In contrast, I was told, Yuma women's skirts were scanty on the outside of the thighs.

[9] Peabody Museum, Yale University, No. 19078.

[10] Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 188.

Kaveltcadom

Bartlett's observations on hairdress among Pima and Maricopa confirm my information. "Nothing is worn on the head [by women], nor is the hair ever tied [114] up. In front it is cut off square across the eyebrows; the rest is suffered to hang 302 loosely over the ears, neck, and about half way down the back, affording a protection to these parts from the intense heat of the sun. . . . . The head-band is 175 worn by nearly all the men gracefully put on in several folds, with the braided ends hanging down on their shoulders. They also have a large woolen cord, from half an inch to an inch in diameter, of different colors, which they use as a head ornament, twining it around the hair. . . . . The men wear their hair long, never cutting it except across the eyebrows, down to which it hangs, and thus partially protects the eyes. When loosed, their hair reaches to their knees; but usually it is clubbed up in a large mass on their backs. Their earlocks either hang loose, or are braided in several strands, with little ornaments of bone, tin, or red cloth attached to them. [301] But the decoration of their heads with the bands of which I have spoken, forms the most picturesque part of their costume. They have a singular practice of filling their hair with clay; so that when dry it resembles a great turban." He also described the hairdress of a war party: "Some had them [their head dresses] plastered with clay, so as to resemble huge turbans. Others had decorated the great club of hair which hung down their backs with bits of scarlet cloth, but more of them with the richly-figured sashes of their own manufacture. Some again wore their hair in braids tastefully wound around their heads, intermingled with pieces of scarlet cloth; while a few, less particular of their appearance, wore it clubbed up in a huge mass."[17]

Font declared the coiffure of the Kaveltcadom-Maricopa of Gila Bend the [171] same as that of the Pima, which he described as follows: "The coiffure which the men practice with their hair is peculiar. They take a woolen cord, thin like the finger and long like a halter rope. Doubling it up they insert it in the hair. With the long end they tie it together and twist it over the head from the left side to the right, and then secure it with the loose end, giving it one or two turns around the head. In this way they carry on their heads a crest like a crown, in which they insert their feathers, little sticks, and other ornaments. The women wear their hair hanging down their backs and over their ears, banging it in front even with the eyes or the eyebrows."[18] I interpret his description of men's hairdress as a band twined into and wound around a mass of braids, themselves wound around the head.

Infants of both sexes had their hair singed all over the head 302 with a little firebrand. This was done only by a person having [854] nice thick hair, presumably so that the child's hair would also [826] grow well. When a boy was two years old, a man who knew how was requested to trim it. He singed it short on the crown in a counter-clockwise spiral, leaving the forelock to be cut off at the deer hide, closely covering the crown and brimless: eagle feathers projected sidewise and vertically. Strings tied under the chin held it in place. 292

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[17] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 216, 228–30.

[18] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, IV, 49, 52; cf. Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 159.

The beard and moustache, naturally scanty, was plucked out 302 with the finger nails. An old man, as he plucked each hair, touched his fingers to his tongue, to feel whether he succeeded. The facial hair was pulled out, not to be good looking, but because it got in the way when talking or eating (!) and also because they wanted to paint their faces.

Facial painting for decoration seems to have been limited. White, red, and black were the principal colors. Men sometimes marked a stripe of black paint across the face covering the eyes; women used it only to blacken the lids and eye-sockets. Participants [535] in certain dances, such as that connected with Killdeer singing, were specially painted. Men also applied white paint in transverse stripes across the long hair hanging down their backs.[20] On the other hand, face paint was used by both sexes as 386 a cosmetic. Red paint was mixed with deer grease as a vehicle for this purpose. The Halchidhoma, while on the Colorado, obtained [439] their best red paint in little bags from the Walapai. This was brought by the Halchidhoma to relatives among the Maricopa or traded there. Other red paint, used for decorating pottery and obtained by Maricopa from the Papago, may also have served for painting the face.

> Font observed of the Kaveltcadom-Maricopa at Gila Bend, "They are accustomed also to paint their faces and bodies, even though it may be with soot, as they cannot obtain red hematite. They decorate the painted parts with various stripes, and this is their gala dress."[21] 302

In cold weather, when hands were chapped, pumpkin seeds [751] were parched and ground, soaked in water, and smeared on the skin.

Tattooing resembled that of the lower Colorado tribes but was 304 more moderate. Men were tattooed (agwisk) only on the fore- [171] head, women on the chin and sometimes the arm. There was no

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[20] Font stated that the Yuma were accustomed "to decorate it [their hair] with figures in other colors" (Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, IV, 108). [171]

[21] *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

323 designs drawn by Mrs. Redbird (*c* was a very common design).
531 Modern pieces bearing designs not wholly divergent from the old
[178] are shown in Plate VII, *f–h*, and Figure 7, *d*, *e*. These designs have always been copied from those on red-on-buff ware sherds
[172] taken from the ancient ruins in the vicinity. While it seems quite possible that the pottery of the Yumans and their neighbors is derived from this ancient buff ware,[4] the designs on Maricopa could not be cited to prove the case since their designs are deliberate copies, just as modern Hopi pottery is deliberately copied from that of ancient Awatobi. Designs had no names.
[424] Nor was there ownership of designs, although women had their favorites, so that who made a vessel could be told by the kind of modeling and the design. This is borne out by several examples secured; among them the pots of one woman and her daughter-in-law, who always work together, commonly have seven units of design distributed over the surface.

WEAVING

●171
286 The material culture of the Maricopa differed from that of the lower Colorado tribes in the presence of weaving. This is a point they are pridefully fond of stressing. As a matter of fact, the amount of cloth woven was probably not very great, in no degree rivaling the productivity of Pueblo looms. Their fabrics were as simple as their looms were crude.

Not only the Maricopa, but the Kaveltcadom (the advance-guard Halchidhoma of Gila Bend) are credited with weaving. They learned the art from the Maricopa some years before Kutox's birth in 1847, he thought. Kutox was doubtful that the Halchidhoma proper wove cloth while still in their home on the Colorado. If they had, he should have known it, since they left there only twenty years before he was born. This agrees with what we know of other river Yumans, that they did not weave cloth.[5] The presence of the art among the Maricopa accords, on the other hand, with their proximity to the weaving Pima.

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[4] Kroeber, *Handbook*, pp. 73, 823.

[5] Except the Yuma, who wove fabrics of willowbark or cotton on looms of Pima type (Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 126).

his youth. It was, by my evidence, an old man's art, yet this observation that a young man wove or assisted may be true. 286 [462] [114]

Cotton was alone used in weaving. Such possible substitutes as mountain sheep or dog hair were not used. Nor was sheep wool used since the advent of the whites: so far as I know, the Maricopa neither own sheep now nor had them formerly. The cotton cultivated in earlier days was white, not brown; growing [248] on bushes waist-high or little more, and not like the man-high bushes of modern varieties of cotton grown in this district. It proved impossible to obtain any specimens of ancient cotton: it has entirely disappeared. Hrdlička observed (1905):

> According to information obtained from an old Maricopa, about forty years ago the people of his tribe planted native cotton, with which the men wove large decorated blankets.

They ginned the cotton by first beating it with a little stick. 283
Then, spreading it on a flat stone, they rolled a smooth arrowweed across it to remove the seeds. This lap was layed aside; then others were similarly prepared and laid on the first. This was women's work alone. Day after day was spent in preparation until the necessary amount was accumulated.

The cleaned cotton was then spread on a smooth spot on the 283
ground, over which clean sand had been sprinkled. A scraped 413
arrowweed, about the size of an arrow, was strung to form a taut little bow. The bowstring was held close above the cotton and then plucked. The "tooth" of the string caught up the loose fibers; its vibration wrapped them into a compact roll around the string. This was then pulled off the string to serve as a sliver ready for spinning.[10] The first step was to roll the sliver into a loose yarn between palm and thigh.

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[10] The cotton plucking bow must have had an interesting history in America: [171] its ultimate source was Asia. My Maricopa informant ascribed its use to the Pima as well. He did not know whether the Papago had it. Doubtless they had, for, farther south Dr. Ralph Beals found it in 1931 in use among the Mayo (near the Rio Mayo and Navajoa, Sonora) for plucking wool fibers for spinning. The source for these tribes must have been the missions of northern Mexico. It occurs in South America, where Nordenskiöld records its distribution through the southern Amazon basin and southward. He writes: "We have here a cultural element that the Indians probably got from the Portuguese, presumably, as in the case of

283 413 The spindle was a smoothed arrowweed shaft about two feet long and three-eighths of an inch in thickness. For the whorl, the inner part of the giant cactus was used, a dense wood. This was a straight stick about five inches long, one inch wide, and bored in the middle to slip on the shaft about six inches from its lower end. The lower end of the spindle was rounded; the upper end somewhat more pointed.[11]

283 The manipulation of the spindle consists simply in twirling it with the fingers of the right hand, the lower end resting on the ground, the pull of the left hand, holding the loose roving of cotton, giving the needed draft. From time to time the spinner stopped, unwound the partially spun yarn from above the whorl, tucked the spindle under his leg to hold it fast, and worked the yarn smooth between the nails of the right hand, before spinning again to give it further twist. An alternative method of spinning was to place the spindle with its lower end uppermost and resting on the right thigh; rolling it between the right palm and thigh, while the tip was supported in the cupped left hand. The Pima method of placing the lower end directly between the toes or in a wooden cup inserted between the toes was not in use.

Yarns intended for wefts were loosely spun, perhaps a quarter inch in diameter or more. Warp yarns had a tighter twist, hence a smaller diameter, to stand the excessive strain in the loom. Russell's description of Pima yarns applies here:
● [171]

> The warp is smoothly and evenly spun into a thread about 1 mm. in diameter. The woof threads are softer and about 3 mm. in diameter.

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[171] the pellet-bow, from India . . . . during the times of the Missions in the 17th and 18th centuries" (*Ethnography of South America*, p. 196). Of its occurrence in Asia, Laufer writes: "The method employed by the Chinese in preparing felt is the same as that used by the Tibetans, Mongols, and Turks, with a single exception: the first step they take is to loosen the wool by means of a large bow by tightening the string and jerking it off in rapid motion. This process is derived from that of treating cotton, and the bow in either case is identical" (*The Early History of Felt*, p. 7).

[11] The Pima spindle figured by Russell (*Pima Indians*, p. 149) is much the same, except that the cactus rib crosspiece is tied on. Bartlett observes that the Pima spindle is "a slender stick about two feet long passing through a block of wood" (*Personal Narrative*, II, 225).

Cords for other purposes than weaving were always slender, per- 283
haps one-eighth inch in diameter. The yarn was rolled into balls.

Dyed yarns were employed for bands and for the decorative 283
selvage of blankets. For a bright red, the yarn was boiled with 386
the root of a mountain plant, called itu'tȧ(now used by the Pima
to dye willow twigs for baskets). It is similarly boiled with clays
found in the mountains to obtain a dull red, dull black, or a
faded orange. The red clay is that now used for painting pottery.
No mordant was mentioned.

The Maricopa loom was horizontal, unlike that of the Pueblos 286
and Navaho, but identical with Pima, Papago, and Opata. It [171]
consisted of four stakes driven into the ground, to which two
warp bars were tied, parallel to each other and horizontal. The
warp was laid directly over these bars. This was used not only
for the larger fabrics, blankets, but also for the various belts and
bands.

The belt loom was also known but perhaps not much used. Somewhat doubtfully I record Kutox's statement that it was used only after the advent of the Halchidhoma from the Colorado (*ca.* 1828). In this loom, the proximal end of the warps were tied to the belt of the weaver seated on the ground, the distal end to a convenient post at about the same height. This, of course, was used only for weaving narrow bands. No belt stick[12] was used.

The weaving of a cradle band on the regular horizontal type of loom was observed. Two pairs of stakes, set a foot apart, were driven into the ground at a distance equal to that desired for the length of the band. A stout arrowweed was tied horizontally on the outside of each pair, some nine inches above the ground, to serve as the warp bar. One end of the warp was tied to one warp bar at one side so that the knot lay at the bottom of the bar. The warp was carried under the opposite bar, and back over the top, thence to the first bar. It was passed over the bars always in this fashion: under the bar and back over the top. This resulted in the warps crossing each other to form a figure-eight (Pl. VIII).

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[12] As at Zuñi (Spier, *Zuñi Weaving Technique*, p. 77).

width of the blanket, flat at one end. The weft yarn was wound from one end to the other in a slightly spiral fashion, where it passed twice around the stick before returning to the first end. As more weft yarn was needed the free end of a full shuttle was tied to the end of the weft already in place. The weft was thus a single continuous strand. Two or more shuttles were never used simultaneously to deliver picks. 286

There was no device, such as a stretcher or temple, used to hold the warps at proper width against the narrowing pull of the weft. The informant insisted that the great tension of the warps obviated this tendency.

As weaving neared the farther warp bar, they began again at that end, leaving a narrow unpicked space between the two segments of finished fabric. The unpicked space was then filled with a weft yarn attached to a very slender, pointed, hard stick. Several men always helped at this because it was difficult to pull the weft through.

Blankets were repaired, not by sewing on a patch, but by darning the hole, as among the Pima. Sewing was wholly unknown to both these peoples.[15] The blanket was tied over the mouth of a pot so that the hole could be readily darned. [296]

The glossary of terms employed in weaving is as follows: 192
286

atcω' or x̣ŏtcω', cotton
hatĕ'mpk, "spreads" (i.e., along the string), the process of picking up a sliver with the cotton-plucking bow
ɪctakwe'ʀɪc, spindle (from kwɪʀɪ, to twirl) (the parts did not have individual names)
ackwi'ʀ, to spin
âve'ʀɪc, warp yarn
âsâ'mc, weft
akwi'g or hɪkwi'k, weaving, also the whole loom
x̣ŏtcω'n̦ɪtcami'c, warp bar

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[15] Darning rather than patching may have been customary throughout the whole western American weaving area. Nordenskiöld remarks of the Choroti and Ashluslay in the Gran Chaco: "The clothes, especially the women's clothes, are often darned. On the other hand, you never see them patched. To mend a hole by putting a patch over it seems to be unknown to the Indians throughout S. America, i.e., the Indians who have still kept their original culture. The Incas, too, did not patch, but darned their clothes" (*An Ethno-geographical Analysis*, p. 108). [171]

192 vaxalᵧaϑa'x̣, "counting the intestines," loom-string (the string by which this was later bound to the loom bar probably had no name)
286 xalyada'xk or caȧč'kc, heald (the latter also the name of the weaving sword?)
nᵧlmâkwe', shuttle
nᵧlmai'e'klc, "to draw together tightly," weaving sword
cakᵧi'ʀâ, weave dagger (also the modern name for a match)
atcω'tl̄tkwl̄nᵧl̄'pc, "cotton cover," cotton blanket
cuʀŏ'pa, woven belt
hapĕx̣, woven headband
tcuxwl̄'l or xa'a'p, woven cradle band

BASKETRY

285 The Maricopa manufactured only burden baskets, obtaining
415 from the Pima the flat bowl-like baskets needed for winnowing or
439 serving food. Every household had one of each, but rarely more.

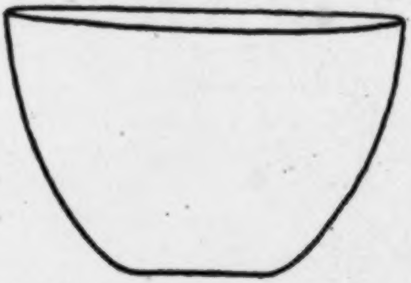

FIG. 11.—Burden basket (from native drawing)

Today a Pima basket forms part of every woman's equipment
and is highly prized. The Maricopa were a pottery using people:
● [171] where among the upland tribes of Arizona baskets were used for
[323] every purpose, here were clay vessels in a dozen forms. This is
the lower Colorado habit, where also baskets were obtained by trade rather than manufactured, and not much used. My informant stated at one time that neither Maricopa nor Halchidhoma made baskets, but this is surely not correct even for the latter.

285 The burden basket was in coiled technique, wide-mouthed and about as tall as wide. The base was flat, the sides flaring (Fig. 11). Unfortunately I failed to record the size, but from the manner of reference, I judge the basket about sixteen inches tall. The foundation of the coil was a bundle of finely split tule; the sewing

element was devil claw (martynia: gwŏx̣tŏ′n, both plant and 285 seed pod) on the base and split willow on the sides. The base was always made of devil claw, which, being tough, would stand dragging across the ground. The number of split tules in the foundation was ordinarily not counted, but if a finely sewn basket was desired, these were five. Naturally the slimness of the coil would depend on how thin were these tule elements. Ordinarily the width of the coil was about the same as in Pima baskets, i.e., about one-quarter inch. They preferred to weave them of such [435] fineness because they were valuable: "they took so long to weave." A finely woven basket wore well. The attitude was that if they troubled to make them at all, pain should be taken to make a close fabric. Designs in black devil claw appeared on the [531] sides. These were similar to some employed on Pima bowl-baskets, [171] and were arranged in two encircling bands, one above the other.

Coiling of the base was in a clockwise direction, sewing on the edge farthest from the basket maker (the inside of the basket facing up), the free end of the foundation protruding to the right. This was continued up the sides, i.e., working on the far edge in a clockwise direction, the basket standing upright. A left-handed worker coiled in the opposite direction. The sewing was done with the aid of an awl. Basket coiling was called hapo′vŭk (or hapu′vĭc), which was an alternative name for weaving on the loom.

Such burden baskets were called iyal̦ĭpai′ic, "mesquite basket," 482 because they were primarily intended for use when gathering that fruit. When the basket was packed full of the beans, short sticks were inserted between them and the sides in order that an overload could be piled above. This was carried on the head supported, like a pot, on a ring made of the inner bark of the willow. The basket lacked loops and was not carried with a pack strap.

The netted carrying frame of the Pima and Papago was not made.[16]

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[16] Bartlett stated that both Maricopa and Pima used this frame, but he was [114] certainly mistaken (*Personal Narrative*, II, 236).

285 [177] [415] Recently a large storage basket (kwĭltŭ'n) for beans, corn, and wheat was imitated from the Pima. (In earlier days storage was in large pottery vessels.) Such baskets have rounded bases, with their sides tapering to a mouth but half the basal diameter. One specimen was thirty inches tall; its greatest diameter, near the base, the same; its mouth fourteen inches across. These were coiled on a foundation bundle of the longest wheat straws obtainable, the sewing element being strips of willow bark. The space between stitches was equal to the width of the sewing element. Since the foundation was about one half inch diameter and the bark strip nearly as broad, the result was a checkerboard pattern over the whole surface. Coiling of the base proceeded counterclockwise (looking into the basket), presumably on the near edge with the free end of the foundation to the right. When the side had been built up to a height of about a foot, the basket maker seated herself inside to work. This would bring the free end to her left. This basket was identical with those figured for the Pima by Russell and Kissell.[17]

[171] [415] Huge nest-like storage baskets or granaries (sȧkwi'n) were made, which were identical with those of the Pima in shape and technique of manufacture.[18] These were cylinders, three to five feet in diameter and somewhat less in height, without top or bottom, but set on a crib-work platform and covered with arrowweeds (see p. 90). The technique was a crude coiling, the material arrowweed. They were woven counterclockwise, working at the outer face on the near edge. Such granaries were constructed by both men and women. [462]

[415] A sifter (caxaʀa'c) was elliptical, shallow, and about a foot long. Thin willow twigs laid transversely and longitudinally were bound to a willow hoop.

[854] Basket technique was also used in the manufacture of cradle hoods.

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[17] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 144; Kissell, *Basketry of the Papago and Pima*, pp. 184–85.

[18] Kissell, *op. cit.*, pp. 172 f., esp. p. 178. Bartlett mentioned only the type described in the preceding paragraph for both Pima and Maricopa, not this nest-like granary (*Personal Narrative*, II, 235).

The rectangular baskets with lids in twilled, plaited weave and 285
the sleeping mats made by the Pima[19] were not among Maricopa products.

VARIOUS TECHNIQUES AND TOOLS

Skin dressing.—Hides seem to have been but little used, not 281
so much because deer and fur-bearing animals were rare, or that they were indifferent hunters, but because few articles were made of dressed skin. Correlatively the skin dressing process was rudimentary. Here again their habits coincide with the lower Colorado tribes. The upland tribes of Arizona were proficient [171]
workers in skins, those of the Colorado-Gila lowlands were not.

The uses of hides were few: the only uses cited were thongs, quiver, and shield. Rawhide sandals have come into use since [177]
cattle were obtained.

A deer carcass was flayed by slitting down the belly from the neck, cutting along the inside of each leg, leaving the hoofs, but taking the head skin.

To tan the hide (k‘wīl̦â), the flesh side was spread with parched seeds of the giant cactus fruit (the residue after a drink was made from it) and the skin folded with the flesh side in. This was to absorb the grease (?). When opportunity came to work the skin, it was first soaked in water. It was then slung over a smooth slanting pole and the flesh side scraped with a sharpened stick, not a stone. The hair was probably removed with a split [412]
bone scraper. The hide was then pounded with a stone while lying folded on a flat rock, available only in the mountains. When it was soft, it was further worked by rubbing with the hands. My informant had heard that deer brains were sometimes used for tanning. Pumpkin seeds were not used, as by the Cocopa, nor were skins smoked or dyed. Skins were also tanned with the hair on: fox, coyote, wolf, and mountain lion. (There [136]
were no bears in Maricopa territory.) Skin dressing (k‘wĭ'ltâmavĭstcu'm, "hide softening") was the work of men alone. [462]

Willow bark blankets may have been made, but it is very 286
doubtful. Kutox described these, called xacīl̦ĕ'p, as made by

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[19] Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 134, 145, 147.

The strongest were of mescal fiber. Bundles of the dried leaves of 482 [283] this plant were brought home, pounded, the connective tissue shaken out, and the fibers rolled into rope.

Head rings (kwïcko') were used by women to support pots and other articles carried on the head. In earlier days, these were made of the inner bark of the willow; now they are simply bound rolls of old cloth. The neighboring Pima and Papago similarly [171] use rings of willow bark and less commonly plaited of agave (mescal) leaf,[23] but it is unlikely that the Maricopa made the latter.

Metates and mortars.—These were the principal utensils for 412 the preparation of meals. A man must not even lay his hands on them: if he were discovered using them, he would be ridiculed as [462] a berdache. Metates were used somewhat more than mortars [626] even in the old days when mesquite, which required pounding in the mortar, was the primary food.

The metate was a flat slab, roughly rectangular, with one prepared face used for grinding with a hand stone or mano. The metate was of a granite-like stone; the mano of a hard, close-grained sandstone. They were considered very valuable since it required a long time to work these tough stones into shape and they were constantly needed for household tasks. Both were [324] formed by pecking with any convenient pointed boulder. Like the Pima, stone axes found in nearby ruins were also used to dress them. One small metate seen was roughly twenty-one inches long by fourteen inches wide and two inches thick. It was perfectly flat transversely, but, on its working surface, slightly concave longitudinally. The mano in use with this was as long as the metate was wide, and had a width such as to be conveniently grasped (fifteen inches long; five and a half inches wide; two inches thick). It was of rectangular cross-section, slightly convex in a longitudinal direction on top, with a true flat surface on the bottom (i.e., the grinding surface) which rose at an angle near each end.

When the metate was to be used, the woman knelt behind it.

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[23] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 113; Kissell, *Basketry of the Papago and Pima*, p. 159.

six inches in diameter and breast-high, which the women used, of 412
course, while standing. A less temporary device was a travelling
mortar made of arrowweeds fastened in conical form (Pl. XIV,
C).[25] A large number of peeled arrowweeds were fastened to a
hoop at the mouth by twined willow bark strips. Their lower
ends were pointed so that they might be bound closely together.
The specimen made for me was about twenty-four inches tall,
its mouth diameter about eighteen. This was set into the ground
so as to stand upright. A mass of cottonwood bark jammed into
the apex was soon transformed into a solid mass by the sticky
mesquite. Other arrowweeds tied around the outside with willow
bark prevented fragments slipping through. Again the pestle
was a breast-high pole. Bed rock mortars, like those of southern
California, were unknown, for the simple reason that there is no
bed rock nor large boulders in the valley. Further, they dared [721]
not pound while camping in the mountains because that would
announce their position to the enemy. All preparation involving [484]
pounding they tended to before they set out.

The metate was called ax̣pĕ′; the wooden mortar, xamo″. 192
Curiously the names for mano and pestle are derived from that of 412
the mortar: xamocĭ′ and xamokᵧe′r respectively. In Havasupai [171]
also the names for mano and pestle are identical (va'ha'dja″a)
but differ from that for mortar.[26] The travelling mortar was isa′-
vâx̣amo′, "arrowweed mortar"; its pestle, ana′lx̣amuke′c, "mes-
quite pestle."

The *fire drill* was the simple palm drill. The hearth was made 372
of the inner wood of the giant cactus, flattened, and provided
with an indefinite number of pits on the upper face with notches
to correspond cut into the side. In place of giant cactus, a cottonwood limb might be used. The drill was a peeled, straightened arrowweed some fifteen to eighteen inches long and a quarter-inch in diameter. The composite drill, used by the Navaho, was unknown here. The hearth was held by the feet while drilling. For tinder, dry rotted bark of any kind or old manure was

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[25] No. 2-11863.

[26] Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 114.

The Maricopa

411 726 placed primary dependence on their bows and could make use of their very short clubs only when actually grappling with the foe. A number of war accounts I obtained make complaint of their inability to defend themselves with these short clubs in mêlées with the Yuma, whose pole-length clubs easily broke through their guard. Yet they were not prone to adopt the longer clubs for combat with the Yuma. Their preference is interesting; for [171] while they followed the Colorado River peoples in battle formation, at least when fighting them, their dependence on shooting suggests rather that normal warfare was against the mountain bowmen, Yavapai and Apache, as indeed the accounts reveal. Even horsemen were frequently armed with bows rather than clubs.

Both self bows and sinew-backed bows were used. These were 411 of the same length and shape, and according to my information, the sinew-backed were not considered superior. I was told that they were not harder to draw and did not give greater penetration to arrows. Self bows were more common than the others. The same bow, of course, served for hunting as well as fighting. Their bows could carry about two hundred and fifty feet, but they rarely shot at an object beyond one hundred feet. Even at this distance, the penetration of the arrow in the side of a deer was said to be not more than half an inch. It was evident that Kutox, who gave this information, had no great faith in their effectiveness. How far from deadly they were is evidenced by tales of men emerging from battle with several arrow wounds.

In fact, the bows being made of willow branches could have had no great strength. But they made up for weakness of material by their excessive length. The standard length was from the ground to the maker's forehead, but, of course, they varied. Yuma bows, they said, were the full height of a man. This agrees with the greater length of bows in the direction of Baja California which I have pointed out elsewhere.[21] There is as much a possibility that this was due to the weak bow material used there as to the greater stature of the dwellers on the lower Colorado.

All bows were straight for the greater part of their length,

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[21] Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 160.

were trimmed parallel to the shaft, and were not cut serrate. The 411
shaft was ordinarily painted red for half its length from the nock [531]
end, but some drew zigzag lines on it with their finger tips dipped
in paint.

Quivers were of deerhide or a fox skin with its tail pendent; in [281]
fact, any skin, such as mountain lion, might be used. In this
some twenty arrows were carried. It was tied to the belt in back [482]
with the mouth at the left floating ribs. In contrast, my informant
pointed out, the Yuma slung it low on the left thigh, the
Yavapai carried it on the back pointing over the left shoulder.
("They [the latter] were always creeping along.")

A bowguard was worn on the wrist of the bow-hand. Nothing
could be ascertained beyond that it was of deerhide, laced with [281]
thongs. When they dressed for a dance, they wore this as an [301]
ornament (as the Navaho still do); a broad band with fringes [171]
hanging, by which girl partners would hold. [535]

Poison was always applied to war arrows, it was said, but the
"poison" (matâpu'i) was jackrabbit blood and nothing more!
"The jackrabbit is closely related to the cottontail. The latter [825]
was bitten by the rattlesnake at the creation, hence the jackrabbit
contains the poison."[35] Hunting arrows were not poisoned.

Clubs were made of mesquite and ironwood, and were for use 411
only in warfare. The conventional form had a cylindrical head 713
with a long straight handle, sizable for gripping, in one piece; the
whole about eighteen inches long. A specimen, made under the
direction of old Kutox by his grandson, has an elongated knob
head which only approximates this shape (Pl. XIII, *e*). It is also
provided with a wrist loop tied in a groove encircling the tip.[36]
Another, made by Charlie Redbird, has the same shape. This is [171]
generically the "potato-masher" type of the Pima and Mohave[37]
but without the sharp contours. But the Maricopa, seizing the [726]
enemy by the hair, always used it with a downward smashing
stroke at the temple, not punching upward as the Mohave habit.
A straight club of the same length was also carried to be used

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[35] See p. 348.

[36] Washington State Museum, No. 2–11916.

[37] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 96; Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 751.

411 should the mallet be lost to the enemy. Only the bravest and
713 most agile warriors carried clubs alone. They were provided
with small shields for parrying. According to the Halchidhoma
Kutox, his people did not use the long pole-like clubs of other
lower Colorado Yumans, at least not normally.

The shield in use was a small circular affair of skin, sixteen to
281 eighteen inches in diameter; originally of deerskin but for a long
411 time made of cowhide. This size provided protection only for the
713 heart, they held. The hide was laid flat on the ground so that a
disk could be cut from it, using a tray basket to mark out the circle. This was buried in ashes until soft, placed on a smooth spot, trod on to work out the wrinkles, and scraped clean. A specimen made for me has two disks laced together around the periphery with a thong.[38] Two short thongs were knotted through near the center to hold them together. Two others were provided to hold a hand grip at the center: a piece of wood covered with hide (Pl. XIII, *b*, *c*). A thong loop was fastened at two points near one edge so that the shield could be slung around the neck, lying under the left arm, or in retreat on the back. No feathers were tied to the shield.

The face of the shield bore painted decoration. Kutox de-
411 scribed a common design as quartering the face by a cross, each
531 arm of which consisted of a black, a white, and a red stripe.
713 Within each quarter was a circle, each composed of three circles
of the same colors placed concentrically. His grandson made the shield figured under his direction. While intended to have this design, it differs in that the cross is solid black, the concentric circles, one of red within a white; the thong lacing around the edge is painted red. Another design known to him was made by covering the palm with black or red paint, running the heel of the hand across the shield and putting the finger tips down. Four of these units covered the face of the shield. Particular designs bore no names.

Both the construction of the shield and the manner of its dec-
[171] oration was identical with that of the Pima.[39]

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[38] Washington State Museum, No. 2-11917.

[39] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 120.

CHAPTER VI

TIME RECKONING, DIRECTIONS, COLORS, AND NUMBERS

ANNALS

211 805 [171] The Maricopa community was in possession of calendar sticks identical with those discovered by Russell among the Pima. Lumholtz discovered one, "the only one existing in the tribe," among the Papago near Tucson.[1] The Maricopa examples, bearing a series of notches like the other sticks, were no more than mnemonic devices: each notch represented the passage of a year, the owner being expected to remember the events of that year. A few additional scratches and dots interpolated between some of the year-marks helped indicate certain significant occurrences, but were so simple and non-pictorial as to give no clue to anyone else what the events may have been.

171 173 211 805 The years have been counted in this fashion "since the stars fell." Before that date (November 13, 1833) nothing of the sort was known. My informant believed the device invented by an old man of the Maricopa community. "At the meeting house an old man told the young people what happened each year. That is how it began. He decided he wanted the young people to remember." Nevertheless, there can be no doubt of their origin in common with the Pima records, identical in form and likewise beginning with the year of the meteoric shower. There is no certainty that even the Pima records are older than 1833. To be sure, Russell, after mentioning the five Pima sticks he located, and stating that the two explained to him began with 1833, writes: "There are traditions of older sticks that have been lost or buried with their keepers." This may mean that traditionally the records date from earlier times, but I would interpret it as no more than the statement I record below from the Maricopa, that sticks

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[1] Russell, *Pima Indians*, pp. 34 f.; Lumholtz, *New Trails in Mexico*, p. 73.

other than those seen, not earlier records, had been destroyed. 171
If there existed record sticks older than this date, it seems surprising 173 that all the Maricopa and Pima examples known should 211 date uniformly from this particular event. My conclusion is that 805 all the sticks of both peoples were derived from a single prototype made after 1833. It may well be that the device merely represents in material form an older custom of reciting annals at village meetings. The solitary Papago example apparently began with 1842.

> The time the stars fell is called xŏmᴬce'kwȧsllyᴬ, "stars fall." They said the stars rained all over the sky. Then no more stars could be seen for a while that night; then they reappeared. They never gave a reason for this. This was the only time it happened; fourteen years before I [Kutox] was born [the correct date: he was born in 1847 or 8].[2]

Formerly several old people had these notched records, but 211 they were burned when they died. One alone remains. There 805 were no comparable records marked on skin nor knotted cords.

The solitary example remaining was in the hands of Maiᵛnyă'n an elderly man, whose father was Kaveltcadom and mother Kohuana. But the device is not assignable to either of these tribes: it was solely a product of the mixed Maricopa community. He began to keep the record in 1873–74, having learned the earlier annals from an old man of the other mixed Maricopa community at Lehi, near Mesa. His recollection of events was acknowledged to be good by Kutox, "but sometimes he makes mistakes and we have to correct him." He is training his sons to continue it, "but they don't pay attention." The stick itself is a store product, which he has had for some years and uses as a staff. (It is four feet long and an inch in diameter.) The notches, which are spaced about one-half inch apart, are little square pits, made with the knife-point, with every tenth year marked by a longer scratch through it. It begins with 1833. He makes each mark at the end of the year, i.e., in February. When I first broached the matter of inspecting his stick on February 7, 1930, he said he had

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[2] All the old men know their ages exactly; a most astonishing fact for an illiterate people. The reason is obvious: they know the year of their birth as recorded on these sticks.

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There is just the possibility that macx̣ipa's and mavī's are from the calendric system of some other Yuman tribe confused in this mixed community with Maricopa nomenclature. [221]

Shorter intervals were indicated by counting nights, not days as we would, or by the moon's phase. The time for a dance, e.g., was fixed by saying, "You sleep four (or whatever) nights and on the fourth day come." Or they would say, "We will have our dance when it is full moon—or when the moon just appears." Neither knotted cords nor notched sticks were used for the purpose. [211]

The intervals of the night were also indicated. The night was 805
supposed to be divided into four parts, significant for dream ex- 828
periences. The first and last quarter were productive of evil dreams; the second and possibly the third were the favorable quarters. These parts were named n$_y$ax̣a'vŏk, "went down," [192]
evening; tinyă'mko'ʀŭm, "night (black)old," middle of the night; x̣acipa'nĭk, "nearing," before dawn; kwâliyo'ŭg, dawn.

CONSTELLATIONS AND NATURAL PHENOMENA

Maricopa star lore was inconsiderable. The major constella- 821
tions, known also to other Yumans, were recognized, but equally [171]
obvious ones, such as Cassiopeia and Gemini, had no names. A [538]
few trivial tales were associated with the star clusters, but the esoteric values attached to them in southern California were unknown here.

For four, possibly five, of the six stars mentioned below, the significant position was dawn rising, not as is our customary mode of reference, evening ascension. Four of them were observed in autumn or winter.

The general cosmogonic notion was that there was a duplicate 772
of this world above the sky. This was not the land of the dead, [775]
which lay in the west. It functioned in the myths and provided [773]
an explanation for the movement of the sun, but otherwise had [821]
no particular bearing on affairs of our world.

It is said that far above the sky is a place exactly like this world. There are people there doing the same things as here, and all the stars we see here are dusheep, and shot it. Three stars to the east, the apexes of a triangle, were the head of his arrow; three to the west in a line (the Sword?) were the feathers of its shaft. The hunter wants to get around to the other side of the sheep, so he follows parallel to its movement across the sky. He was called amokâtâveʹʀâ, "mountain sheep pursuer" and was identified with a star low on the southern horizon, possibly Sirius. "When he appears in the evening [late March] it is too late to plant crops" [Kutox]. Last Star referred to it by morning ascension: it appears well up just before sunrise in late August, almost due east, and a little south of Orion's Belt. This is confirmation that the star is Sirius. Again it was said that it served as a sign that it was too late to plant. Later when the star was high in the sky before dawn, they referred to it by amokâtâveʹʀâ âx̣ax̣avikieʺvâ, "mountain sheep pursuer has crossed the water." 773 821

The Milky Way was called tcilgwiyaʹn$_y$unyĕʹ. An antelope and a deer had a race along the Milky Way. The deer tracks are represented by spaced stars; those of the antelope are continuous Two stars lie near it on the west: that to the north represented a Yavapai wearing a cap (peaked forward from his forehead: the stars form a V about a larger star); the southerly one was a Pima with a banda about his head (a circle of faint stars about one brighter). The latter star was called cakwīlyuʹk. "When these two appear [on the eastern horizon at dawn?] it is the coldest time of year [January]". These may be Vega and Antares. The name of the latter suggests the Southern Diegueño cīluʹk, a star which rises in the morning in December.[8] 821 [773] [171]

A cluster called ax̣ma "quail," lies close to the Milky Way (?). It looks like a quail: a ring of faint stars forming the body, three larger ones the head, surmounted by a single tiny star, the plume.

A star called xaʀâϑoʹ n$_y$ixaʹaʹ, "cold's cottonwood," appears in the east before dawn in late January, "when the yellow blossoms appear on the cottonwoods," according to Last Star. It lies at the lower edge of the Milky Way. This is clearly Altair. Xaʀâϑoʹ, "cold," was the name of a hero in a tale: the star was supposed to look like a cottonwood. They said, "Xaʀâϑoʺs cot- [773]

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[8] Spier, *Southern Diegueño Customs*, p. 357; cf. *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 171.

821 spectively xuk'ŏs and xuʀŏ'v^a). People say the thunder strikes, not the lightning. They cry out to children, "Come into the house! The thunder will split you in two." Arrowheads (presumably those found in ruins) were dangerous for one to carry about; the thunder would be sure to strike him. They did not go close to a lightning-struck tree nor burn its wood: it would make them sick. Thunder was not associated with war by the Maricopa.

[773] Men who dream of it say thunder and lightning have the form of human beings. One of them wears red clothing; the other is naked except for a skin around his loins. The latter carried a bow and arrow in his hands all the time. He has long bushy hair hanging over his shoulders. The man with red clothing does nothing but stand with arms folded: in talking to the other, he stretches his arms out, which makes the lightning. The one with the bow shoots at the same time: that is thunder.

What clouds are made of was not known, but "they come in the form of human beings";[13] a fundamental belief in the Pueb- ● [171]
los. The Maricopa held that the Yavapai told the clouds to go to some spot in the Gila valley, so that it would cease raining where they lived.

The appearance of a rainbow (kwålice'rc) indicated the end of rain. A halo or corona seen around the moon (xal$_y$ă'c kåʀåu'kåm, "moon's ring") was not regarded as significant.

The whirlwind was a ghost, that is, one of the several souls each person had.

825
805 Little bees seen making holes in the ground was regarded as a sign of approaching spring.

DIRECTIONS, COLORS, AND NUMBERS

823 Six directions were named: the four cardinal points, zenith, and nadir.

Ĭnya'cåpa'k or Ĭnya'djåpa'k, "sun's rising place," or Ĭnya', "sun," east
matc̣a'vĭg, matc̣a'k, north
kave', give' or Ĭnyaxa'pk, "sun went that way," west
xasa.i'l, south (lit. "salty water")
åmai', up (lit. "sky")
åma't, down (lit. "earth")

The term ĭn$_y$uxa'vå or ĭn$_y$uxa'p was volunteered for northwest, but this is palpably the term for west.

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[13] The tale "Cloud and Wind" was told to exemplify this belief.

The Maricopa have transposed the normal Yuman word for south to west, a 192
fact to which Dr. Kroeber has called my attention. For south they have sub- 823
stituted xasa.i'l, meaning salty water, the ocean; a word with identical meaning
in all Yuman dialects known to me. There is cogency in this substitution, since 178
the ocean in Maricopa mythology was set in the south and the Gulf of California lies substantially in that direction. If, as seems probable, kave' has come secondarily to mean "downriver" to the tribes residing on the lower Colorado, the Maricopa shift becomes intelligible: "downriver," i.e., down the Gila, is westward for them. And it may also argue their original location on the Colorado.

The word north is known to be that for wind, or contains the same stem, in several Yuman tongues, as Dr. Kroeber has also remarked (wind in Mohave is ma'thāk, and a possible case is Havasupai, ma'twi-, "wind"). Why this should be is anything but clear, because the prevailing winds of Arizona are southwesterly. But, although "wind" in Maricopa is matxa'c, my informants repudiated any connection with the word for north.

TABLE III

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Tribes	North	West	East	South
Maricopa.....	matxa'vi̇g	kave'	Inya'câpa'k	xasa.i'l
Mohave.......	ma'thāk	....	-'inya	ka'veik
Yuma.........	metva-	....	....	kavē-
Havasupai....	mâta'vi̇gâ	[I]nyato'povi̇ (sun's setting place)	[I]nya'djâ'a'lovĕ (sun's rising place)	kâwe'vi̇gâ
Walapai	mat'a-'vᵉkᵃ	inya-to'po' (sun sinks)	inyatc-al'lo`	kuwĕ'vek
Southeastern Yavapai	matava	inyadopo (where sun sets)	inyatcaauw (where sun rises)	weve
Northern Dieguеño*.....	xitoL	awik	enyak	kawak

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* Kroeber, *Phonetic Elements of Mohave*, pp. 62, 64, 82; *Handbook*, p. 800; Walapai Ms; Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 102; Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, pp. 169, 265; Gifford, *Southeastern Yavapai*, p. 247; Waterman, *Religious Practices of the Diegueño*, p. 333.

823
Directional sequence and color-direction association occurred [171]
here as elsewhere in the Southwest, but was slight. Nor was this [822]
symbolical patterning stressed in any degree like the constant repetition of their pattern number, four. The order of mention of the cardinal points was always east, north, south, and west, it was said, that is, not in a circuit. But when requested for the names of directions, Kutox had volunteered east, north, west and south. Later he corrected this, saying he had been careless: sure-

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL RELATIONS

CHIEFTAINSHIP AND MEETINGS

619 National solidarity was strong among the Maricopa. This is
[171] the same sentiment recorded for other Yuman tribes of western
Arizona and which sets them off so markedly from Californian peoples. The Maricopa constantly referred to themselves as a single homogeneous people, all participating equally in their group life and all united against their enemies. This despite the fact that their settlements were sprawling agglomerations of households spread over a considerable area.

[643] The solidarity expressed itself in at least three ways. There
was but one chief for the whole tribe so far as is known. Men of
prominence might be found in the several villages but they had
no formal status as chiefs. Again, there were no internecine
[628] feuds. In all the long discussions with informants, there was never so much as a hint of conflict between families or villages. And
[701] further, in warfare they presented a united front against their
enemies, whether in attack or defense. Minor raids took place, to
[726] be sure, but what stands out in their minds are the massed battles in which a large proportion of their able-bodied men took part. This attitude of the Maricopa seems to have been duplicated among the tribes now resident with the Maricopa when in their original homes on the Colorado, although here our data are so slight as to be inconclusive. But once the remnants of these
[563] tribes had been incorporated in the Maricopa community, they
felt themselves completely identified with their Maricopa hosts as forming one coherent whole.

Both Maricopa and Halchidhoma had chiefs whose position
643 was hereditary and functions vague. It proved difficult to get
724 adequate information about them. Dreamers (shamans and
787 others) were mentioned frequently and voluntarily; specific ques-

Xanavré was given as "king," meaning "anyone who was head over people."
192 This was not the name for the tribal chief, but for the leaders of Mexicans or
554 Americans. It is Spanish *general*, here pronounced heneral a. (Dr. Beals suggests
643 that the terminal syllable may be from Spanish *rey*.) The Havasupai epithet for
●171 the head chief, hanata'vâ, "superlatively good," was not recognized by informants.[4] Havasupai kahâ't, "chief," Mohave kohota, "dance director," and Yuma kwoxot, "chief," "dance leader,"[5] was here kwaxω″t or kwax̣o'tĭnc, "good man" (that is, good natured, kindly), not the name of an official. A dance leader was here called n̦yima'câisk.

643 The functions of a chief seem to have been slight: his authority more admonitory than coercive. He rose early in the morning and called the villagers. Talking to the men first, he admonished
[626] them to go out to hunt, to feed their wives and children. He told the women to hasten to prepare meal so the men could start. (A
[558] woman who failed to have breakfast ready by sunrise was scorned.) He looked after the meeting house and called men to the meetings.

There appear to have been no speakers (repeaters) for the chiefs or others.

645 Councillors were mentioned as chosen by the chief, two or three men. Whether they had special functions or authority is unknown to me. They were called matâsĭ'nyŭk, "those who agree"; more recently matâwi'kĭk, "helpers."

646 There were evening meetings which any man might attend as
[562] he chose, even young boys, but not women. They took place in a special large house erected in the middle of the sprawling settle-
[345] ment. These were by no means legislative assemblies: decisions were not binding. The opportunity was rather one for the expression of opinion at a convivial gathering. Nevertheless, the proceedings were quite stereotyped.

643 It was customary for the chief to get the meeting house ready.
646 In mid-afternoon he started a big fire, which was kept up so that
[372] by evening it was intensely hot inside. He would clear it of dé-

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[4] Kroeber's derivation of the Mohave word for chief, hanidhala, from Spanish
[114] *general* (Yuma, hon-ah-thal) may be correct but looks to me like folk-etymology on the part of the Mohave (Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 745; Trippel, p. 568). The
[171] Cocopa, like the Maricopa and Havasupai, called the headman "good man" (information from Dr. R. H. Lowie).

[5] Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 137.

714 their lariats as tight as possible; for the double purpose, I suppose, of bracing their bodies, and of protecting their vital parts from arrows. Those who possessed neither [trade] shirts nor blankets, remained as nature made them, with the addition of a little paint. On their head dresses, they had all bestowed more attention than on their bodies. Some had them plastered with clay, so as to resemble huge turbans. Others had decorated the great club of hair which hung down their backs with bits of scarlet cloth, but more of them with the richly-figured sashes or belts of their own manufacture. Some again wore their hair in braids tastefully wound around their heads, intermingled with pieces of scarlet cloth; while a few, less particular as to their appearance, wore it clubbed up in a huge mass."[11]

701 War parties comprised relatively large bodies of men, at least against the Yuma, although fewer may have participated against the Yavapai. Kutox persistently mentioned two hundred as the number in a party: while this need not be taken literally, it does indicate the order of their numbers. This is in striking contrast [171] to the handful of raiders which the mountain tribes of Arizona mustered at any one time, and indicates clearly that warfare was a national affair of the sort carried on by the lower Colorado tribes. The contrast with the mountain tribes is not one of relative [161] populations because the Maricopa were not very numerous in the second quarter of the last century, the period to which our data relate.

The organization of the parties was simple. There was a battle leader, one or two individuals who bore feathered pikes (the "battle standards" of the Yuma), several champions, and shamans who used their clairvoyant abilities to seek out the enemy and who tended the wounded. All these men had their functions [787] by reason of special powers they had dreamed. Not one of them was more than a leader: they were not officers to issue orders. It seems reasonably clear that the tribal chief was not ordinarily war leader. Yet one at least among those is known to tradition as a warrior (p. 157).

There was but one battle leader at a time among the Maricopa. 701 He was the only man who had the requisite dreams of war, and 787 when he died, another dreamed in his stead. The dreams dwelt on surmounting dangers and killing the enemy. In his dreams he saw clouds of little flies (called kumanyihwi') fighting in the air, and by their actions he learned how to make successful issue of 701 the battle. He dreamed only that he would be successful. His 787 personal preparation was like that of all shamans: a series of dreams in which the spirits initiated him in the mysteries of his art until they were satisfied that he was fully prepared. There is a cactus more thorny than cholla, called ᵃx̣u'l. He dreamed he saw these fighting in the form of humans. When they saw he was fitted for his position, these spirits took him into a large cave, the hollow interior of a mountain located in the enemy country. As he entered he saw a club, a shield, and a pike hanging on the wall. Each time he was taken there, they gave him the opportunity to learn the use of one of these until he was proficient with all. Then he was ready to lead in battle. His song first described the morning [553] star (xomâce' kovâtai'ᵃ, "big star"), which in some undefined way is connected with war. Just what was his function in battle was not ascertained. The last of such leaders among the Maricopa was named ḳa'ḳaiðo'.

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[11] *Personal Narrative*, II, 216.

The bearer of the feathered pike was a functionary known 701 alike to Maricopa and Halchidhoma, and was represented among [171] other lower Colorado tribes. He assumed no-flight obligations which placed him in the forefront of battle and in that sense was a war leader. But while Forde describes the pike of the Yuma as a battle standard sometimes planted in the ground and about which the forces rallied,[22] my informants explicitly and repeatedly denied this function among the Gila River tribes. The pike was carried by a man selected as the best warrior; quite infrequently two men had them. He used it as his weapon, supple- [113] mented by a club, and carried no shield. He was not the war captain, nor a dreamer. Carrying it entailed what was practically a no-flight obligation: the bearer must go always forward, never retreat. He was credited with fearlessness: even though his companions retreated, he rushed forward into the enemy's midst, to seize them by the hair and club them to death. Black paint covered his body and was drawn in a band across his eyes. His bangs were daubed red. At his death the pike was destroyed [768] with the remainder of his personal possessions.

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[22] Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, pp. 167, 265.

701 with the remainder of his personal belongings. Whether his position was transmitted was not disclosed.

This pike was a mesquite shaft, pointed at one or both ends,
713 encircled at intervals by bands of red and black paint, and bearing pendent feathers. Kutox gave contradictory evidence regarding details: he stated that it was in length the height of its bearer, again that it was four to five feet long; that it was pointed at one end, again at both. A specimen which he had made for me (Pl. XIII, *a*)[13] is pointed at one end only and is forty-three inches in length. Another specimen made by Charlie Redbird is pointed at one end alone. The feathers were the largest plumes of buzzard and eagle, each bound individually to the shaft, leaving a space free for a hand grip at the middle. Halchidhoma and Maricopa made such pikes identically and alike called them hukwilĭ'c.

Armament consisted of bows, short wooden clubs, and circular
[411] shields. Rarely a man might arm himself with a wooden pike. A
warrior carried either bow, or club and shield; never both. Club-
701 men and bowmen went into battle as separate divisions; the
726 clubmen always grouped to march in front, the bowmen following.[14] Each of these companies was said to have had its leader, presumably a spontaneous leader, since the absence of any special designation for them argues against formality of their status.

WAR DANCE AND SPEECHES

The night before setting out for war there was always a war
726 dance (hupi'l$_y$ĭg). Everyone participated: women, old and
[535] young, as well as the warriors who would comprise the party.
[533] Songs of all kinds were sung, "because they might lose some of
their men and this would be the last time they would ever hear
these songs." These followed one another through the night.
Toward morning, when the dances were over, everybody left.
[705] Meanwhile some women had prepared provisions for the war
[262] party. This consisted principally of ground parched wheat.

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[13] Washington State Museum, No. 2-11918.

[171] [14] This division aligns with Pima and Havasupai habit. But at least clubmen [illegible]re not paired with bowmen in the manner of the Havasupai (Spier, *Havasupai* [illegible]*ography*, p. 250; Russell, *Pima Indians*, pp. 120, 202).

537 726 everyone wished them good fortune. The subject of the third night's speech was how anxious they were to see the enemy and how they would fare. On the fourth night he would exhort them to be indifferent; to throw themselves on the enemy or all return together. "We have come to fight the enemy and whatever becomes of us will be all right. If we are killed, we die with honor, but we may succeed in taking a scalp." Four speeches must represent an ideal form: how it was adjusted to the days actually necessary to move to the attack, I do not know. It took twice that time to reach the Yuma; the Yavapai were met within a day or two. But it does indicate how formal was the whole war procedure.[15]

Orators used in all speeches the abrupt, staccato, forced delivery described for Mohave and Yuma.[16] There is now no living orator. Last Star described the manner of speaking as follows:

> When an orator called to the people in the morning, telling them to go for their day's food, his first three or four utterances were said slowly and quietly, then the rest was spoken forcibly, abruptly, and loudly.

PITCHED BATTLES AND RAIDS

726 So far as present information goes two quite different methods of warfare were used against Yuma-Mohave and Yavapai-Apache. At least the circumstantial detail given in what follows strongly indicates this. What it means in effect is that the Maricopa adapted themselves to the methods with which they had to contend: the highly formal pitched battle arranged by the lower Colorado tribes in contrast to the foray into the mountains against Yavapai and Apache. This does not mean that the element of surprise attack was lacking in the former nor that the latter lacked artificialities.

The pitched battle against the lower river tribes was attended by large forces on either side, who, if not succeeding in attempted surprise, gave notice of their intention, arranging for open hand-to-hand combat. Thus, the Pima annals record that

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[15] The Pima shared this delivery of four formal speeches on as many nights on the warpath but it does not seem that the content was the same (Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 202).

[16] Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 209.

the Yuma sent a messenger to the approaching Maricopa asking them to fight only with clubs, to which the latter agreed. He conducted them across the Colorado to where the Yuma waited.[17] As the contenders drew near, marching as compact groups, they halted, scratched a line on the ground, and stood along it facing each other.[18] Champions now sprang forward on each side to hurl insulting challenges at their opponents, until they had worked to the pitch of clashing in single combat. As soon as it appeared one of the champions was about to be bested, the whole body rushed forward in the wake of the victor. They met breast to breast in the mêlée, whacking away until their opponents were annihilated or broke and ran.[19] As soon as the battle was joined, there was no skirmishing, no flights of arrows; it was simple beating down of the foe with staves or short clubs. Mohave, Yuma, and Maricopa accounts all agree that of the several hundred engaged on each side not more than a handful of the vanquished, a half-dozen or a score, were left after the battle. It does not seem possible, that, as tradition relates, this type of warfare could have gone on from time immemorial. All of the nations alike would sooner or later have been reduced in numbers or wholly exterminated. That this actually happened in the case of the Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai must mean that they always met overwhelming odds. 726 173 726

The challengers, who may not have been the actual champions, had their ability by reason of having dreamed of the mocking bird, that is, they were speechmakers. They marched along the long line drawn before their party, shouting insults at their opponents, whirling their bows in the air or dragging them with one end bouncing on the ground to make them dance up and down. Their performance duplicated their dream experience. The line represented a mountain, the long Sierra Estrella. They, like the mocking bird spirit of their dreams who led them the 726 787

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[17] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 40.

[18] This is reminiscent of the Hopi in 1540, who stood on such a line to face Coronado's soldiers (Winship, *The Coronado Expedition*, p. 488). [171]

[19] The whole affair is reflected in the pseudo-historic tale of the Dog Champion (p. 396).

that success or failure must have been prefigured in a dream: "he 726
did not tell his dream before he began, but might tell it much [787]
later when describing his battles."

The tactics of the Maricopa differed somewhat from their 725
river foes. They made some use of cavalry, but wholly ineffectu- [171]
ally. Their mounted men were elderly individuals and boys who [492]
went behind the footmen to encourage them and to charge. But the narratives relate how they sat their horses waiting for the outcome and charged through the mass, comprised of friend and foe together, depending on the weight of their steeds rather than any finesse of their arms. They too went down under the flailing clubs or were dragged from their seats to be butchered.

It is also astonishing that the Maricopa were backward in 177
adopting the long staves which gave their Yuma opponents so 411
much advantage. Beyond providing themselves at the last moment with poles, as the narratives relate, they depended wholly on their short clubs. This is intelligible if it meant learning definite procedure in fencing and parrying with these pole-length clubs, like the quarter-staff play of English yeomen, but there is no hint of such stereotyped handling of the weapons from Yuma sources.[23] My account also states that Yuma women and lads 726
similarly armed gave support to their men, but it is noteworthy that nothing of the sort is said about the Maricopa when the Yuma and Mohave attacked them. What may have been a counter attempt of the Yuma to adopt Maricopa methods is implied in my Halchidhoma informant's statement that when the Yuma came in 1857, they did not use staves but their bows (and short clubs?) alone.

Not all conflicts with the Yuma were pitched battles. Occasionally a small body of raiders would visit the Yuma villages to do what damage they could (see p. 46).

Elementary strategy was sometimes employed. The warriors might be divided into three or four groups to approach the enemy village from as many directions. Then, when the enemy came out to attack the first party discovered, the others would rush the village.

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[23] Cf. Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 170.

727 [787] [753] But if an enemy was doomed, he would hear the scalps weeping. Why he slept with them is not clear: "they put the pot at the old man's head because if it was elsewhere, the scalps might act as enemies and make him sick." The jar containing these trophies remained permanently in this spot, although he no longer slept with it.

535 727 The scalp dance might be repeated at any time, presumably as much for entertainment as for any other reason, taking exactly the same form. At their request the old man would bring out the scalps, wash and dress the hair; and again bathe and sleep with them for four days. They never asked directly but said, "Dress up our visitors and let them visit us."

727 [171] Scalps were never used to bring rain nor to cure the sickness they caused, as by the Pima,[32] nor were they carried to war in Yuma fashion.

THE SIB SYSTEM

614 [553] The Maricopa and the allied Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai shared a single system of sibs (clans) of the type established for other lower Colorado Yumans by Kroeber.[33] These were patrilinear, definitely named groups, strictly exogamous, and "totemic." They not only bore names the same as or analogous to those on the lower Colorado, but these tribes shared the peculiar habit of naming women of the sib for the totems in an indirect fashion. Further, the sib system was definitely integrated with the calendar of months and hence with the economic round. There was no suggestion of localization of the sibs.

614 771 787 825 On the other hand, the system had no relation whatever to their religious life. Yet this would have been quite possible. The basis of Maricopa religion was dream experience with spirit birds and animals. The spirit dreamed of might well have been one of the totems of the dreamer, yet such was not the case. There is not a single instance of this, and it was quite remote from their minds that one should dream of his totem.

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[32] Parsons, *Notes on the Pima*, p. 461.

[33] *Handbook*, p. 741.

TABLE VI—*Concluded*

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168	tĭlke' tinyămkwăsau'	top-heavy night [is] a good runner	Childhood name: because as he walked he nodded his big head.	Halchidho
169	matăxa'kwinyuwī'c.	wind owner		Halchidho
170	sŭml'kwictī'vă	tying downy feathers		Halchidho
171	tcie'nakwŏtkwi'nă	following a bird		Halchidho

21a: cĭlkăpa's

Women

*172	tŏtkăva'k	coming back and forth	Refers to the movements of red ants. Kutox says it refers to the tracks of deer going to and fro.	Yuma
*173	mătn̥,iθi'	coming toward each other	Refers to the red ants.	Yuma

Men

*174	cuθī'l̥ᵃ	hiding	Refers to red ants, whose nests are difficult to find and destroy. Kutox says the one who named this man meant the deer hiding.	Yuma
175	tcienatŏp	bird-throw		Yuma

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

601 [171] The Maricopa kinship system closely resembles that of all other Yuman tribes in the stress laid on age distinctions among brothers and sisters and their descendants. It goes farther than most in the systematic way in which these distinctions are carried out in terminology. Add to this that brothers and sisters are called brother and sister only when full brothers or sisters, or when derived from the same mother, but not when they have only a father in common. The general impression is one of be-

wildering complexity, yet it is clear that they operate with a few 601
simple principles.

The word "system" is quite legitimately employed for this [829]
body of kinship designations. It became quite clear that the
Maricopa themselves think of it as a well-defined system. Thanks [115]
to my interpreter, Mrs. Redbird, it was possible to enquire sys-
tematically into the relationship of every person in the collateral
lines derived from common greatgrandparents. She needed to
know no more than the sex and relative ages of the siblings from
whom the lines were traced to give without hesitation the terms
used between any pair in the succeeding generations to no matter
what degree of remoteness. She was frankly operating with a
system. Every one of the usages obtained from her was checked [124]
and cross-checked, and in nearly every instance her first response
was found to be correct. Not so her mother, an old-time Mari- [183]
copa of nearly sixty, who, her daughter told me, could never tell
what her relatives of even slight remoteness were called. Obvi-
ously, individual interest in the subject varied widely.

It is important to note that the kinship system bears no rela- [602]
tion whatever to the sib system; kinship groupings do not follow [614]
sib lines.

The essential principle of the system is that the relative ages 601
of brothers and sisters are given terminological expression, and 561
the terms for their descendants hinge on this. These distinctions
appear at every point, yet the curious thing is that age distinc-
tions between siblings have no social existence. Neither I nor my
interpreter, with whom I repeatedly discussed the matter, could
find any feature of social life which might give rise to this. It
may exist, but Mrs. Redbird's opinion was that the terminolog-
ical distinctions existed only for their own sake.

Coupled with this basic principle is the fact that half-brothers 601
and half-sisters are considered brother and sister, but only when
children of the same mother.[46] The classification of parallel cous-

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[46] By implication this may also be true of the Yuma and Mohave, but not of [184]
Cocopa, Kamia, and Northern Diegueño (Gifford, *Californian Kinship Termi-*
nologies, p. 62; Kroeber, *California Kinship Systems*, p. 341). Terms given for [171]
paternal and maternal half-siblings among Yuma and Mohave are identical with
those recorded here for the Maricopa. It may therefore be that these Colorado

601 ins follows from this, but only in part. True enough a father's brother's children and a woman's mother's sister's children are called brothers and sisters when the father and his brother or the mother and her sister are half-siblings by the same mother. But instead of calling these parallel cousins brother and sister as well when the parents are full brothers and sisters, they use special terms for them.

[611] The reason for considering half-siblings as full siblings when derived from the same mother but not from the same father is inexplicable, especially in face of the marked patriliny prevailing otherwise in their social structure. Obviously, with different fathers these children may have belonged to different sibs, hence the blood-bond here overrides sib affiliation. Informants were wholly at a loss to find any correlated social function. It seems that it must be correlated in some way which I do not understand [606] with the importance of the two mothers-in-law in determining the relation of their child's spouse to their own families, to the [587] function of the mother-in-law in supplying a woman of her own family to the widower son-in-law, and to the attitude of considering women as essentially the carriers of patrilineal sib affiliations; but the clue to their interrelation is lacking. It might be thought to be based on a belief that a woman alone was concerned in conception, the man's part being secondary. But nothing of the sort developed in a long discussion of the relation of conception to dreams nor in the many other opportunities when it might have come out.

Sex, on the other hand, is not an important basis of classification. The speaker's sex does make a difference, to be sure, but rarely that of the kinsman addressed. It is partially ignored between brothers and sisters and with cousins of one's own generation. It is practically ignored in one's children's generation, and does not figure at all in the generation of grandchildren and greatgrandchildren.

● [171] River tribes reckon half-siblings as full siblings when the bond is through the mother, but we are not told so. Similarly it may be that this blood bond figures in the classification of parallel cousins, as it does in Maricopa, but these authorities are also silent on this point.

unyi', unyi'c, un,iya'	son's wife, brother's wife, grandson's wife, father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, step-mother 601
kitca'	a man's step-child
ucu'	a man's sister's husband, his son's (and daughter's?) daughter's husband, wife's brother, wife's grandparents, a woman's daughter's (and son's?) daughter's husband
inkwinyáhweya'	a woman's sister's husband
inyahwī'	wife's sister

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE

The curious feature of Maricopa marriage is that its apparent 581 informality belied a strictly formulated social configuration that resulted from it. Marriage ritual was lacking except for a purely formal test of housewifery. Despite the rigid control of their choice by the parents of the young couple, the mating seems casual enough. Nevertheless, the movement toward the union once initiated by the young people themselves, their relation to the two families becomes increasingly fixed in a rigid mould.

Marriage possibilities were limited by blood relationship and 582 sib exogamy. A man could not marry any known blood relative of either parent regardless of sib affiliation, nor any woman of his own sib. Hence he could marry an unrelated member of his mother's sib. I was several times informed that he could not marry either parallel or cross-cousins (although his parents' several nieces were not members of his sib except by chance).

My aged informant denied that young men went courting: the 584 most he would admit was that during night dances some would [533] play their flutes at a distance to attract girls. Yet I received strong intimations elsewhere that young people made their own [572] choice. There was at least no open courting, even through the [171] intermediacy of a friend in the Pima manner.[54] While their elders [581] might insist on industry and good temper as sufficient qualifications, young people were also interested in handsome mates. Good looks are not easily defined: I was told at least that one 832 should have long thick hair and that girls as well should be broad in the hips. In a reference to beautiful women (axo'tk, "beauty," parents would remind her that death might take them and she 584 would be alone in the world. "Children are supposed to obey; so she married him even if she did not like him." Yet she might finally refuse to go when the groom's mother came to fetch her.

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[54] Cf. Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 183.

When the youth told his parents that he had spent the night 585 with the girl, his mother went for her. But before leaving, she sent word throughout the village that her son had been married. Then all the men and sometimes women gathered at his home to await the arrival of the girl. As soon as she arrived, she performed the stereotyped task of providing a meal for them.[57]

When a girl married, she was supposed to know all about cooking [581] and grinding wheat. The latter was looked on as the most onerous task that could be set a young girl. The man's parents gave her a big basket of wheat to grind as soon as she arrived. Sometimes she would finish grinding the whole of it, but some could do no more than half. These would attempt to hide the unground grain in a hole beneath the end of the metate. Sometimes the girl would be so ashamed of her failure that she would run off home. Then others thought the parents mean to have given her so hard a task.

They also made her fetch a large vessel of water, perhaps from quite a distance. A girl friend might secretly help her; filling the pot after the bride had lifted it to her head. Sometimes she would leave the vessel on the river bank and run home.

Girls who could not perform these minimum accomplishments 581 of any proper housewife, grinding quickly and well, and keeping an adequate supply of water on hand, were not wanted. Such a girl was permanently rejected by her intended husband's family. But when someone else wanted to marry her, they would bring up this defect in her character.

Nothing in the way of payment, not even gifts, was made to [583] the girl's parents. But the man's parents made presents of such 584 things as shawls to the girl before she married. A girl might be receiving gifts from one family when another selected her for

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[57] There is no ceremonial washing of the couple as among the Navaho and [171] Havasupai (cf. Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 326).

CHAPTER VIII

DANCES

Maricopa dances seem to have been purely social affairs. Rit- 535
ual dancing was unknown, at least in anything like the form it
took among the Pueblos. The dances appropriate to the several
song series, while in some instances of fixed form, were so simple,
so unorganized and with the pleasurable element uppermost,
that they could be called no more than rudimentary attempts at
ritual dancing. The sole dance having any elaboration was that
in connection with the Mountain Killdeer song; the dance ele- [177]
ments may have been taken over from the Papago-Pima Vikita
complex.

Dances occurred at irregular intervals throughout the year.
The big dances were held especially in winter (January–February), "when their wheat comes up nicely and they feel proud,"
and at harvest time (late August–September). These social
dances were called xima'k (or hima'tc; hima'k, the dance step):
"dances at other times would not really be called dances." This
is significant, for the one general dance of the year held by the [171]
Havasupai (at harvest) was also alone called yima'gâ. Similar
celebrations of the Yuma were also yimut or nyima'ts.[1] Any
dance leader was here called nᵧima'câisk, obviously based on
this word. Such a leader held his position informally.

Other dances were coupled with the sahuaro drinking bout in
the middle of June (p. 57), with the girls' puberty rite (p. 326),
war and scalp celebrations (pp. 166, 184), and at the funeral and
mourning rite held for a singer. From time to time when they
were impoverished they exchanged visits with the Pima to gain [439]
foodstuffs by singing for their hosts. Still other dances for pure
entertainment came at uncertain intervals to the accompaniment [533]

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[1] Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 261; Gifford, *Yuma Dreams*, pp. 58, 62; Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 118.

535 of the song cycles, but with these it is clear that the song was by
[533] far the more significant element. Two dances of this type, more
ambitious than most, are described below.

Dancing always took place in the open, never in the meeting
house. The big dances, at least, were usually held when the
moon was full. Gathering early in the evening, a few boys and
girls would commence dancing; when it was dark, the dance got
into full swing with many participating, and continued until the
sun rose. There was little special dressing for dances: they
washed their hair, men tied feathers in it and painted their faces,
while women wore beads on neck and wrist. Invitations were
[648] freely extended to other tribes, beside those of the local mixed
community, particularly the Pima. There was no formal manner
of issuing invitations; no knotted string or notched stick sent,
for example, to indicate the days before the dance would take
place. An elderly man, a good speaker, was dispatched.

533 The dream songs were used at these big social dances; only one singer being chosen to sing his series throughout the entire celebration. He sat at the center of the dance circle, with others who were accustomed to sing with him. Dancers did not sing. The singer accompanied himself as his particular song required, with either a gourd rattle or a basket, which he either beat or scraped. A peculiar accompaniment, a combination of the two, scraping on one side of an upturned basket, pounding with his hand on the other, had a specific name, haxwe'ʀig.

535 The dance form was the round dance common in the Great
Basin area. The dancers formed a circle about the singer, men
●[171] and women alternately, their hands clasped (fingers not intertwined).
Partners were not paid, as among Havasupai, Navaho,
etc. They circled counterclockwise, their step depending on the
rhythm: if the singer beat slowly they shuffled along, if rapidly
they hopped. The circle stood waiting after the song began until
some selected man gave the order to start. The singer still beat
time after his song ended, the dancers continuing to circle, while
he picked up the next verse of his song. It was not customary to
abandon the accompanying instrument (rattle or basket) on the
dance ground, as the Havasupai their drum.

Such masks (iϑŏmataŏ'm) were said by Last Star to have 173
come into use only in his parents' day, that is, in the middle of 536
the last century. He did not know where they derived the idea.

A combination of these two forms of the Mountain Killdeer 173
dance was described by Last Star. He had heard it referred to as 535
the greatest dance they had ever had. (It occurred before he
was born.) "Once" the singer had made a large circular enclo-
sure of arrowweeds stuck into the ground. It was provided with
four openings, one at each of the cardinal points, and within each
opening a pole was set up. From each pole hung an image of a [532]
butterfly made of leather: that on the east pole was painted
white and black, on the west yellow, north blue, and south black. When the dancers entered, "their breathing and dust" made the butterflies flutter as though dancing. The singer sat on the western side within the enclosure, together with several men who sang with him; all scraping on a single basket. Behind them were some women who also sang with them. The audience entered by east, south, and west openings to sit about inside. The dancers were mostly young women and men. Each was provided with a stick bearing many pendent feathers: in their other hands they each held a skin image of a butterfly. They kept time with their sticks, moving their arms piston-rod fashion. When the "chorus" was sung, they held these objects high. The dancers entered by the northern opening, moving in a counterclockwise course in single file within the enclosure. There was no masked clown at this dance. This dance occurred at an occasion for jollification; not when news of slain enemies had been received.

The last time this dance was given, according to the same in-
formant, the enclosure was presumably lacking. Each dancer
held an image of the mountain killdeer in one hand with which
to keep time; something else in the other. The image was made [532]
from the chocolate-colored root of a plant growing near the river,
in shape resembling a sweet potato. A band scraped white resembled that about the neck of this bird. The image was mounted on a stick.[4]

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[4] It is possible that the Mountain Killdeer performance and the masked clown [171]
are to be identified with the Vikita-Navitco dance complex of the Papago and

535 A spectacular dance called Moving the King Around (xanȧvʀe' gĭcpa'câm, "to move out the king") may have been coupled with the song Dragonfly (x̣anavâʀe'). The word x̣an- [196] avâʀe' meant not only dragonfly, but the leader of the whites, as king or President. This looks like the confusion of a native term for the insect with a Maricopazation of Spanish *general.* The ref- [773] erence in this dance was to Montezuma, a figure of local myths, who was identified in some fashion unknown to me with the Sierra Estrella. The mountain was called "Man lying on his back" beside its esoteric name "Berdache Mountain," and a peak at the eastern end, "Two heads." These are recorded on modern maps as "Montezuma Sleeping" and "Montezuma's Head." The word mŏntĕsu'm, according to Mrs. Redbird, meant [823] "unknown people"! The performance was based on the circumstance that "in the early morning the Sierra Estrella looks as though there was a great building there, a castle, or a row of cottonwood trees, or the like. It will stand this way for a time and suddenly disappear." This is simply due to the morning light sharply defining the pinnacles on its northeastern front for a time.

The man "who started it again [the song?] said he was going [532] to make something like they see in that mountain." He painted a cloth to resemble the mountain. He danced with others, all "going around" several times; then he stretched the painted cloth to cover them all. Baskets were used to mark time; some [534] beaten, others scraped. This dance took place in the open during the day. "They thought it the greatest performance ever held. He never tried it again."

The dance forms of the Maricopa appear in summary as two alone: a circular dance and one in which two opposed lines of dancers trotted backward and forward together. The circular form was used in the big social dances described above, the scalp dance, and with Mountain Killdeer singing. The direction of movement was counterclockwise in all three, as in all Maricopa

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[171] Pima (cf. J. A. Mason, *Papago Harvest Festival;* Davis, *Papago Ceremony;* Russell, *Pima Indians,* pp. 266, 328; Parsons, *Notes on Pima,* pp. 461 f.; Curtis, II, 12).

CHAPTER IX

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

THE DREAM EXPERIENCE AND SPIRITS

171 787 At the heart of Maricopa culture was the dream experience. It was the one thing of which they constantly talked, the significant aspect of their life as they saw it. It is this more than any other single element that establishes the unity of their culture with that of the lower Colorado Yumans, and this holds equally for the other, originally Colorado peoples among them, Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai, so far as one can now judge. At the same time, the Maricopa emphasis on experiences with particular spirits seems more like the generalized North American relation with guardian spirits than does the Mohave, with its myth framework in the phrasing of the dream.

787 554 828 Dream experience was at the bottom of all success in life, and as such their constant preoccupation. Learning was displaced by dreaming, and while it was recognized that an individual acquired skill by practice or imitated songs on hearing others, his activity or knowledge would be neither wholly successful nor significant unless he had dreamed. A single statement of Last Star's epitomizes their attitude: "Everyone who is prosperous or successful must have dreamed of something. It is not because he is a good worker that he is prosperous, but because he dreamed." All songs and song performances were revealed in dreams and their content was the dream experience; on the experience was based the conceiving of children, oratorical power, curing, bewitching, and shamanistic feats; clairvoyance and prowess in war, and the ability to lead in war or to serve as chief. In short, all special abilities were to be had by dreaming, and by dreaming alone.

774 787 Supernatural power came only in dreams and almost always involuntarily. Dream and spirit were called by a single word,

[196]

cure it. One who dreamed of Buzzard became a great shaman, 756
with ability to cure the well-nigh lethal wounds caused by Ya- 776
vapai poisoned arrows (matáϑau', "poisoned," "bewitched"). 787
Duck and Gnat (? unyĭpáwa'páwa') were mentioned as addition-
al spirit councillors of a shaman who cured such wounds. Fur-
ther, Buzzard and Coyote conferred clairvoyant power to dis-
cover the enemy's position in the mountains and to detect
thieves. The power of Jackrabbit and Cottontail was the cure of [753]
sickness caused by eating their flesh (jackrabbit at least was for-
bidden to young people) or of blindness caused by getting their
hair in the eyes. They also cured earache. Orange Shouldered
Blackbird cured sickness derived from deer,[9] but gave primarily
his song, since "the blackbird is a great singer." Similarly, the
Deer dreamer was a singer but could cure. Crickets gave the
power to cure bewitchment caused by one who dreamed of the
constellation Orion's Belt. Shamans who dreamed of crickets
used rattles, the sound resembling that of the insect (but see be-
low).

Other spirits bestowed non-curative powers: clairvoyance, be- 776
witching, legerdemain, rain-making, singing, etc. A man who 787
dreamed of Crow became a great thief, of Eagle a great singer. 554
Similarly, the Mountain Killdeer dreamer became a great singer
"because the killdeer is a great singer. But Mountain Killdeer is
a bad bird. When one who dreamed of him sat down to sing, the [832]
whole village was stirred up. Young girls and even married wom-
en rushed to this singing, ran off with the singer." Mocking Bird
made a man an orator, hence chiefs and battle challengers
dreamed of him. A spirit called cĩl,aitcuwa'n gave clairvoyant
power to see who would win a race. Frog gave power to bewitch 554
and to handle live coals: singing the Frog song brought rain. 776
One "who had dreamed of rain" could cause it to fall, which may 787
mean that rain was a spirit. The morning star was conceived as 821
a spirit: it is the transformed old woman of the Flute Lure tale
(p. 396). "A man, when he first dreams to become a great warrior,
first describes the morning star. This star has especially to do

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[9] The meaning of this is obscure, but recalls the Pima belief that animals cause [171]
all or nearly all sickness.

It is quite clear that the cycles did not recite myths, but were 184 533 confined to the personal experience of the dreamer. Nor did the dreamer project himself back into the mythological period: dreams and songs referred to the contemporaneous scene alone. Mrs. Redbird was emphatic on these points, contrasting Maricopa songs with the mythological type of the Mohave, with which she was acquainted. In both points they stand in clear distinction to Mohave songs. This is important, for the nature of the songs reinforces the fact that Maricopa dreams were individual experiences of a type more general in North American than the Mohave.

Yet the myth type was not wholly absent. Two songs at least 533 773 told fragments of the Creation tale. Buzzard song related "all about" the creation; the appearance and actions of the sick culture hero, of his cremation, of the dispersal of the people in the desert and their settling in their historic homes. The song of Frog told how "in the first part of the evening" she left her home (after killing the culture hero); how she was pursued, and how she caused a storm to rise behind her to prevent her enemies following. "It tells all about rain and wind."

Tales also occurred with soliloquies delivered in the form of 533 song, several examples of which are given in the tales at the end of this paper. Herzog also recorded a song incidental to a Maricopa myth.[13] This is a stylistic peculiarity widespread in South- [171] western tales. Such songs were not sung apart from the tales.

Not every song was dreamed, at least by its singer. Several 533 787 instances were cited. It was said, for instance, of the song tcutŏ'-xâm, used when a group of boys were set to destroying a bees' nest, that "this song is not dreamed, but a man who knows how sings it." Similarly no mention was made of dreaming in the case of tatuma'npĭg, sung during the girls' puberty rites. It may be that ritual songs were not dreamed, although their content was much the same as dreamed songs. But it is more likely that their occurrence was like that of the song Deserted. "This had not been sung for a long time. One man wanted to start it again for a dance. Someone else had dreamed it long ago: this man did [535]

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[13] Herzog, *Yuman Musical Style*, pp. 188, 224.

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TABLE VII

TRIBAL IDENTITY OF SONGS

(According to Maricopa Information)

LOCAL NAME	CUE NAME (FROM KROEBER'S LIST)	MARICOPA	HALCHIDHOMA	KAVELTCADOM	KOHUANA	YUMA	MOHAVE	PIMA	KAMIA	YAVAPAI	ACCOMPANIMENT			USE
											Gourd Rattle	Beat Basket	Scrape Basket	
akil	akil								×					
arrowreed (ax̣taʼ)	ahta (cane)						×							
bat (kumpănyákŭ'c)	bat		×								×			
birds	birds						×							
blackbird (x̣asikwaʼ)	deer		×									×		curing
buzzard (ce)	buzzard	×									×	×		war and scalp dance, and pleasure
catukx̣o'tâs	satukhota					×								
cottontail	rabbit									×				
crow	raven					×?								
deserted (vŭspoʼ)	sakachara		×									×		frequently danced; war dance
dragonfly (x̣anavâʀeʼ)	dragonfly (ahakwa'ilya)		×											involved a performance
eagle (čspaʼ)	eagle (ohwera)	×												
enemy standing (hwîcîvauʼ)	———		×											war and scalp dances
frog (x̣anyîʼ)	frog		×			×								for pleasure, but brought rain
grebe (x̣altau'p)	halykupa (grebe)	×												

TABLE VII—*Continued*

Local Name	Cue Name (from Kroeber's List)	Maricopa	Halchidhoma	Kaveltcadom	Kohuana	Yuma	Mohave	Pima	Kamia	Yavapai	Accompaniment			Use
											Gourd Rattle	Beat Basket	Scrape Basket	
hand game (tatuϑul$_y$l'g)	tudhulva (hand game)	×	×	×	×	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	"sung by everybody here"
ivâϑo' (a fly)	avadho (an underground insect or chrysalis)	....	×	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	×	the principal war dance song; also when enemy was killed and for pleasure
il$_y$icâ'c	alysa	×	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
kara'uk	ohoma	....	....	....	....	×	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	at mourning rite
kultĕ'ckᵃ	kamtoska	....	....	....	....	....	×	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
lightning (xuʀŏ'vᵃ)	orup	....	....	....	....	×	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
morning star (xomâce' kovâtai'yâ)	——	×	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	war leader's song
mountain killdeer (vitaʀi'c)	——	×	....	....	....	....	....	×	....	....	....	×	×	with special war dance performances; and when enemy was killed
nighthawk (uʀu')	orup	×	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	scalp dance
oxo'mc	ohoma	....	....	....	....	×	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	mourning rite
people (pipa')	pi'ipa	×	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	war and scalp dance
rat (uxu'l$_y$ᵃ)	ohulya (rat)	....	×	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	×	×	for pleasure

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TABLE VII—*Continued*

Local Name	Cue Name (from Kroeber's List)	Maricopa	Halchidhoma	Kavelchadom	Kohuana	Yuma	Mohave	Pima	Kamia	Yavapai	Accompaniment: Gourd Rattle	Accompaniment: Bent Basket	Accompaniment: Scraped Basket	Use
red ants (cĭmá∂ul$_y^a$)	chamadhulya	×												scalp dance; occasionally for pleasure
salt (čsi'c)	salt	×												war (?) and scalp dance
seal (tuxa'ʀ^a)	tuharl (rattle)	×									×			war and scalp dance (?)
sun (ĭnyĭ')	nyavadhoka	×		×										"any time for fun"
tatuma'npĭg	tumanpa	×												with dance at girls' rite
tcutŏ'xam	chutaha (crane?)	×	×?	×?	×?			×						probably all local tribes; boys' bee-killing ordeal
tuma'np	tumanpa				×									for pleasure; war dance
tuma'np^{a}ko'lĭs (long tumanp)	long tumanp	×									×			for pleasure
turtle (kapĕ't)	turtle				×									war (?) and scalp dances
twisting (xikwi'alc)	hayakwira	×	×											curing
vinimulya	vinimulya						×							
wine (xatca')	———	×	×					×						sahuaro drinking
xamutci'tc	mat-hamuchicha		×			×								
yaxai'k	nyohaiva				×									

one line, supported by a man on each side, all three with rattles. 533
The lines moved backward and forward. It was also sung at the 535
scalp dance, and in general, at times of rejoicing; always with a gourd rattle accompaniment.

The recorded text of one song of this series follows.[16] Below 533
each line of text is given the equivalent in normal speech; other 539
words and elements are meaningless, being inserted merely to [129]
carry the song.

xailnyi kŏṇai'yumi'ṇyik,aviyŏ'nak,amiyŏm
miviya'k
He went crying

Repeat this line twice.

akuṇpiṇyipŏṇ'aiva'	xatcu'akwɪsϑa'	kumaṇaṇaxai	xima'ṇalyŏṇaxuta
pipa	xatcu'akwɪsϑa's	maxai	mll,âxo'c
a person	cold weather taking	boy	wing

akuuva'ṇapa'aa	anyu	miṇiϑau	tcaiyĭ'mavi'ya
kuvâpa'aân		âϑau	tcaiyĭ'mg viyak
end [of wing]		take	send it away on its way

Free rendering: "He went crying. The boy-bird, Taking-cold, sent his wing tip on its way." Taking-cold was the name of an unidentified bird, which arrives in this area about October. He figures here as a person, a boy. Buzzard went along crying, because he was not fast enough to bring back what he desired. (What it was Last Star did not know.) The bird Taking-cold had more power, so Buzzard asked him to go, but Taking-cold had merely to dispatch his wing tip. "Buzzard was like a shaman who cannot bring back a sick man's soul, because he was not swift enough to overtake it. So he might send a quick boy in his place."

Catukxo'tàs was the name of one of the twins of the Flute Lure 533
tale (p. 373). The name of his son, the hero, kwiyăhuma'aâ, identifies this song with Mohave Kwiya-humara.

Cottontail had been heard among Yavapai visitors. The cot- 533
tontail and jackrabbit were sung about by shamans who dreamed 756 [171]

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[16] For the transcription of this and other songs recorded phonographically, see p. 271 f. [126]

533 a cardinal, but brownish, with a head crest; its habit being to destroy other birds' eggs and corn. There was no song of this name locally.

Morning Star (its name means literally "big star") was the transformed old woman of the Flute Lure tale. Since the morning star "had especially to do with war," a war leader dreamed [821] of it. The song described his warlike deeds.

Mountain Killdeer, with Deserted, was probably the most frequently sung song series, to judge by the manner of reference. [171] This was a Maricopa song also known to the Pima. Two performances which accompanied its singing are described in the section on dances: in one the singer made models of butterflies flutter to his tune; the other was a dance form involving a clown. The song was also used in the war dance and at the time news was received that an enemy had been killed. That night people went to the house of the singer to sing this song, without dancing. On such occasions a woman who wishes to assist him singing seated herself right beside the singer on his east side.

One song of this series was recorded.[18] (Normal speech equivalents are given below each line of text.)

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avisaovǒṇa	kaviovaṇa	avisaovǒṇa	kaviovam
vovak			
He [Coyote] is here	ditto	ditto	ditto

Repeat this line.

akupiipaṇai	kwix̣atalwaa	Ĭnyămosoṇaa
pipai	x̣ataluwe'	n̦ĭmasa'vâ
a human	Coyote	white

siiyâmavii	ikwalacaata	anyumiiϑau
avi	kwalacau'	ϑaug
stone	obsidian	he took

itcŏpyuaak	iyoṇaam̆oṇai	ikŏṇakyŏṇavĭk
Itcĭpl̦ia'kâm	amai'	kĭk̦a'vĭk
He carried it in his mouth	sky	[He] went around

iyoṇamat	ikoṇak̦avĭk
amat	kĭk̦a'vĭk
earth	[He] went around

Repeat first line.

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[18] Another song text is given on p. 241.

533 [539] never tells how he got there. He always stops telling before that point."

Salt was sung by old men and women "at the time they killed or captured an enemy" (war dance as well as scalp dance?).

Seal (i.e., fasten) was "probably sung when they killed an enemy, because it was not sung for mere amusement." It may refer to sealing the cover on the jar in which scalps were stored.

[881] *Tatuma'npig* was the name of both dance and song at the Maricopa girls' puberty rite. The song referred to purifying the girl, making her strong and industrious, dignified, kind, gentle, able to withstand thirst, to run well, and the like. The dance [535] form was a line of girls with the menstruant at the middle facing a line of men, both moving backward and forward together. Last Star pointed out that this was not the song *Tuma'np*, a Kohuana song sung for happiness and when going to war by old men and women.

Tuma'npᵉko'lĭs, "long tuma'np," was sung by Maricopa; a wholly different song from tuma'np. It was called "long" (ko'lĭs) because "it holds," drags. A few old men and women would [534] gather to sit singing this when they were happy, accompanying themselves with a gourd rattle.

533 A single song of this cycle was recorded as follows:

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xikwai	amo'likwai	amo'likwai	amuwa'ṇkol [?]
xikwai	amo'li		
the giver	[an exclamation?]		[meaningless]

xiyai'awi'valĕm
vawi'm
he did this

Repeat all this twice.

The song was said to relate how a certain bird or animal did something.

533 [171] *Tcutŏ'x̣àm* (meaning unknown) was sung by Maricopa, Pima, and "probably all others here." It was sung when they started to look for a nest of bees which young boys were expected to exterminate. "This represents going to war." The song was not dreamed, "but a man who knows how sings it." Its content was a strange combination: it told of plentiful crops and water; then

MARICOPA MUSIC[20]

BY GEORGE HERZOG

The following Maricopa songs recorded by Dr. Leslie Spier 533 share in the traits of the Yuman musical style. These traits are: the absence of strong accents or pulsations, placid flow of the melody, pleasing alternations of two-unit and three-unit rhythmic figures, simplicity of the tonal development and clearly balanced structure.[21] But the outstanding characteristic of the Yuman style, the introduction of a new part, imitating the main motive on a higher tonal level,[22] does not seem to be as common in Maricopa songs as it is in the songs of other Yuman tribes.[23] Among the songs that follow, Nos. 2, 3, and 4 have this "rise" clearly; in No. 6 there is a suggestion of it (in the more emphatic use of *b* in the *g* phrase); in No. 5 only a change of rhythm appears. The fact that this peculiarity is represented [177] somewhat weakly in Maricopa songs may be due to Pima influence but this could be established only on the basis of more material.

No. 1 is in 18/8 (3/2) rhythm. With the change of the text in a^3, the triplet-movement is temporarily broken, the phrase has now 20/8 and 17/8 (or 19/8 and 18/8); in the variant 16/8 and 17/8 (or 15/8 and 18/8). The melodic weight is fairly evenly distributed over the two tones of the melody, still *b* ♭ can be con-

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[20] These songs were recorded on a phonograph. With the exception of No. 3, 126 they were sung by Last Star (from whom No. 1 was obtained twice): No. 3 was sung by Claude Redbird. Each song is but a single song from the long series of the same name. The texts of the songs, which are printed in the notes above, were obtained independently of the phonograph records. Dr. Herzog has undertaken the awkward task of fitting my texts to the words as heard from the records. [114] He writes: "I did not have much trouble in fitting the text to the music; still at a few places this has not been entirely successful and our texts disagree on a few minor points. I have placed in parentheses a few syllables where I am either not absolutely certain that I am hearing what I ought to, according to the text you sent me, or where I hear something definitely different from the indications of the text. These are, of course, points of minor importance. At one place I have a question-mark in the text since I can not make out the syllable (No. 3, second line)."—L. S.

[21] See *The Yuman Musical Style.*

[22] *Op. cit.*, pp. 196–97.

[23] This is borne out also in the Maricopa songs of the story of Na'sia, recorded [171] by me from the Pima.

753 787 [756] patient, his limbs twisted. This could be cured by a shaman who dreamed of either Coyote or Buzzard (the informant was uncertain).

[824] Another plant, called i'iux̣a's, "scraped wood," caused chills and fever. The shaman never told in this connection of what he himself had dreamed. On diagnosing an illness as due to this cause he secretly dispatched a man of l̦eω'c sib for ironwood (ax̣pa'lg) in the morning. A limb was scraped and fashioned into [755] an image of the patient by this man, who at noon suddenly entered and held it close before the patient's eyes. When the latter saw it, he began to cry aloud. Then the shaman proceeded with his cure.[27]

The most dangerous thing of which to dream was kwaʀao'-kuma'cǐc, "iron eater." (kwaʀao' was the name formerly applied to the stone of which knife blades were made, presumably obsidian, now transferred to iron.) The informant knew nothing of this dream object but its name. This disease caused sores, which ate away the flesh and the bone below. A shaman who could cure [756] this had dreamed of a high pile of sand. When a hole is dug into the base of a pile of loose sand, the sand runs in as fast as one removes it. Hence the spirit (what it was is unknown) showed him how to stop it with his hand, which he then knew how to apply to the running sore.

115 756 Curing shamans were relatively few; five or six at any time. There is a question whether women were ever shamans. Last Star declared that there were none known among Maricopa and Kaveltcadom, although Mohave, Yuma, and Halchidhoma had them. Kutox's statement that at any one time there were one or two is probably to be interpreted as referring to the mixed community as a whole or to his own Halchidhoma group.[28]

755 The manner of calling a shaman to cure was stereotyped. An elderly man of the patient's family approached the shaman's house, calling him by the appropriate kinship term. He did not

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[171] [27] This is reminiscent of Pima and Papago curing by touching effigies in the Vikita-Navitco complex.

[28] Last Star confirmed Russell's statement that the Pima women shamans specialized on abdominal diseases (*Pima Indians*, p. 261).

192 756 cure" was translated by my interpreter into Maricopa as axna'l-
[648] mĭtce"vĭk, "gourd [rattle] singing."[30] This may be because they
now call in Pima shamans.

755 Usually at a cure several old men sat beside the shaman to lend him their strength, but they did not sing.

[276] Before the shaman began, he smoked two or three cigarettes or even four if the patient was very sick. He also stopped from
time to time to smoke. "The shaman felt weak without his tobacco, like a man without food and water. He smoked to make
himself feel strong." It is not clear that the shaman blew smoke
over the sick man. Last Star did not mention it as part of the
[115] procedure and his statement that the shaman stopped to smoke
implies otherwise. Kutox, on the other hand, said that he blew smoke over the patient's body, but did not describe it in his own cure, cited below. The tobacco used by shamans did not differ from that of the layman.

533 755 The shaman sang two songs or four over the patient when he knew he would recover. Only if the patient was seriously ill did the shaman begin singing from the first. "His songs were like prayers." He sang them to gain strength. These were songs he had learned in dreams and which he used only when curing; otherwise he kept them secret. The songs told how the spirit had taken him to the mountain tops to reveal the cures, but they did not describe this explicitly. In the course of his songs he named the disease and told the patient that "when he heard these songs he might get well."[31]

[822] If, while singing, the shaman mentioned only things that were white (birds or whatever) and called the patient's breath white,
533 755 763 the auditors were sure he would get well. But if he changed these references to black, the patient was doomed. On the fourth night (theoretically a shaman was given four nights to effect a cure), if

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[114] [30] Forde's Yuma informant, ascribing the use of a rattle to the Maricopa, was presumably mistaken (*Yuma Ethnography*, p. 198).

[171] [31] Informants had never heard of curing by the songs of animals diagnosed as causing the disease, as did the Pima; such causes being foreign to their belief. Possible exceptions were the singing of Blackbird song for sickness "caused by the deer" and the belief that rabbits caused illness and supplied its cure.

776 would hear any prayer. Last Star also thought that they were
782 not directed to particular spirits.

> Old people think that when the trees begin to bud, their lives have changed, been renewed; that a spirit has pulled them through the hard winter. They would then address the various spirits of animals and strong birds [that is, those that have power]. They did not pray to sun or moon, or dream of them. The sun toward evening says, "I have gone through the whole world watching my children. They seem all right, so I think I will go down and see how they are getting on in the other world." The sun claims every living creature as his own: so it seems queer to Last Star that they do not pray to him. The moon is an old woman who
> [821] looks down on little children and protects them. Hence when the moon first appears, the little children are told to call her by a kinship term, cɪnkɪs, grandparent's sister.

● 171 Prayer plumes were not used by the Maricopa, although the
Pima usage was known. Nor were other offerings made, as shell,
782 turquoise; nor sand paintings and fetishes constructed. The pollen crosses marked on themselves by Yavapai were equally unknown.

Beliefs in a magical order of events and actions were moder-
183 ately important in Maricopa thought. At the same time they
771 gave only lip service to some of these, differentiating rather clearly between sayings and beliefs. Mrs. Redbird, my interpreter, proved invaluable in this matter, always carefully prefacing her translation with the observation that the item was one of literal belief or merely a saying.[37] All beliefs and allied practices not mentioned elsewhere in this section on religion are resumed here.

Apart from the import of dreams, there were several omens,
787 almost without exception presaging disaster. If the enemy were
825 nearing a fishing party, the fish then broiling would shout out loud from among the coals. Just as soon as the fish were eaten, the enemy would appear shouting. Sometimes a fish bled from its side before it was cut: this was a sign someone would be wounded. If on a journey or to war, a deer joined the party instead of fleeing, it was taken as an omen that one of them would be killed. But the informant immediately added, that it meant they would kill an enemy, because to take a deer without having to hunt for it was lucky!

[763] Death or an epidemic was presaged by a horned owl seen flitting about the houses: when his mouth opened a light was seen

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[37] For sayings see p. 331.

Yuma
Halchidhoma

in it. When the loon (xalyȧpu'kc), flying high in the air, cried 763 787
out, this also announced the advent of "a terrible disease." It 825
was heard just before the influenza epidemic of 1918 which carried
off many of their number. The appearance of a comet also [821]
betokened the death of a prominent person or a general disaster.

A young chicken crowing like a rooster was a portent of death in its owner's family. If one's possessions made an unexpected noise, the owner would die. Similarly, if a snake crawled into the house an inmate would die. "The snake says he has come to the funeral."

Before my interpreter's father died, her mother went out one night. She sat down. Suddenly she felt something very cold. Looking down, she saw a little rattlesnake coiled around her ankle. She was too frightened to scream. It uncoiled, crawled a foot or two, and coiled again. She tried to drive it away, but it was dead. Next day a big rattler came to the door and coiled up. It did not rattle before they killed it. Soon after, the man died.

The tale Dog Champion (p. 396) yields several omens: a skull [773]
speaks, a pot cries out, a log groans; all presaging disaster to the
Yuma at the hands of the Halchidhoma.

It was believed that certain actions would bring on sickness: 753
handling a chickenhawk, or anything it had killed; or a boy eating
the game he killed. Similarly, if a father ate the game he
killed, his child would sicken. (Surely this conflicts with practice.)
Arrowheads (those that were found ?) were dangerous to [821]
have: the thunder would be sure to strike one who carried them
about.[18] Lightning-struck trees were avoided for fear of sickness.
If a turtle shell was put over a child it would grow no more.

In a myth (p. 374) it is noted that killing various desert birds [821]
and insects will cause rain to fall: cactus wren, a bird called [825]
vitȧpana', and tarantula.

The prehistoric ruins were believed to have been occupied by a 172
people, who like themselves, were created by the culture heroes. 173
They were called pipain,iko'ʀ, "old people."

In the mountains to the northwest were the footprints of a [823]
giant, who figures in a tale (p. 409). There was no belief in [776]
dwarfs or water-babies in the mountains.

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[18] The Papago also associated them with lightning, believing they are to be [171]
found where lightning has struck. They were also used for curing (Lumholtz,
New Trails in Mexico, pp. 111, 180).

HALCHIDHOMA MOURNING CEREMONY

The Halchidhoma had a mourning ceremony like that of the 171
tribes of southern California and the lower Colorado. With the 765
former they shared the construction and burning of images representing the dead, with the latter, a sham combat as well. Consonant with their more easterly position, the Maricopa lacked all but the simplest of mourning rituals.

The Halchidhoma ceremony, called kĕʀu'kâm, was held about 765
the anniversary of a man's death. It seems probable that it was held for all men, but not for women or children, and that it was held but once for a single individual. Its purpose was simply that of remembrance: there was no notion of the return of the dead connected with the image, or the like. The pattern of the proceedings followed in large part that of the actual cremation.

Someone outside the family, a man, went to the relatives of the deceased to inform them that he would undertake the ceremony. They would get the needed clothing and paints ready. Word was sent to the various villages fixing the day and time for the ceremony. Prior to their coming, there had to be constructed the image, a flat-roofed shade, a small oval structure, a woodpile, and a post was erected.

The image[2] was completed before they began to erect the two 532
structures. Four men were selected to make it. They bathed 765
every morning before proceeding to work. Like all the construction connected with the ceremony, work had to proceed very slowly and quietly. (It is not known how long they took to make it.) The image, made of rags, was intended to look exactly like the dead man. It was clothed and its hair dressed exactly as he had worn it. Kutox thought it was as large as a human. The neck was loosely made so that the head would face from side to side when the image wobbled.

When this was completed, a small oval structure was built at 346
some convenient place selected for the ceremony. This, called 765

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[2] The native name was not remembered by Kutox, who had himself never seen the ceremony; hence it fell into disuse before 1847 or the years immediately following.

Halchidhoma
Mohave

346 765 vaʀâu'kᵃ, was designed to house those who took the part of enemies. It was formed of willow branches stuck into the ground with their tops bent over and tied together. Four days were occupied in building this simple structure. At the end of that time, a large number of men gathered to build the shade, called mâtk,ă'l l,uwe'vḁ, "meeting shade," for the use of the mourning relatives and their friends. This also was worked at very slowly, occupying a second four-day period and being completed on the day of the ceremony. Meanwhile, a selected group built the woodpile and erected a tall post. The shade was placed at the center of the ground where the ceremony was to be held. The oval structure was to the southwest of it, in order to be out of the way of the villagers who later approached from the four cardinal directions. The post was near the eastern side of the shade and the woodpile a little south of this. The clothing they had gathered was placed on the pile of wood. Children were made to keep away from these structures.

765 The mourners were clustered under the shade before the invited villagers arrived. If the ceremony was to take place in the evening, the latter would have started from their homes in the late afternoon. They halted while yet a hundred yards distant from the shade. Each of the four bodies of villagers,[3] following a leader, moved slowly toward the shade from the four cardinal [537] directions. They each halted four times while the leader made a speech, the fourth time being in the shade. These leaders were the same speechmakers who figured when a man died. The four columns arrived in the shade simultaneously, whereon they all burst out crying. Again their speakers addressed the throng; in order, the one from the south, north, west, and east (*sic*).

The image was next borne out to be erected on the post. Those who carried it made it turn from side to side in time to the measured words of the speakers.[4] It was stood against the post

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[171] [3] Only four bodies were mentioned, one for each direction. It may be that villagers from divers places were marshaled in four groups as in the Papago Vikita (Mason, *Papago Harvest Festival*, p. 14).

[4] Note here that the speakers had a jerky, measured delivery, also noted for the Mohave (Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 750).

CHAPTER XI

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

BIRTH

171 846 Birth was preceded and followed by restrictions on the activities of the parents that applied to both to about the same degree. This semi-couvade, as Kroeber styles it, was moderate and of the order that prevailed generally throughout the Southwest and California.

849 When in the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, the expectant mother should not lie flat on her back else the embryo would lie crosswise or be born feet first. Neither she nor her husband should look at dead animals or birds, else the child would sicken like the animal, would be paralyzed for weeks. On the whole, it were better that the father did not hunt; if he did, he must not stare at what he killed. Nowadays, neither may look at a picture of any sort; the child will be deformed. Nor could either look at or touch rattlesnakes, else the child would be deformed and never walk: it would seem to lack bones; could not stand.

Food tabus applied to the mother from the sixth month. She must eat no more than she could help and must especially avoid fat. Should she eat fat, the embryo would be covered with it, especially its eyes, nose and mouth (a caul?). The mouth would be filled with fat, so that at its first breath, the child would choke. There was no objection to her eating salt, the common tabu elsewhere. Her husband could eat fat and salt at this time, but he joined her after the birth in eschewing them.

It was known that pregnancy has a duration of nine lunar months. It was, however, not usual to calculate the exact time at which the birth would occur, but some women knew they would give birth at a particular full moon, e.g. Births were rather uniformly distributed through the year.

844 343 Birth took place in the menstrual shelter, or a similar structure

relative. If the older child had been sickly, however, it would be 854
kept for a long time before it was used again. A second, larger
cradle, of exactly the same type was made when the first was outgrown
after two or three months.

The cradle was the flat carrying-board of the type used on the [171]
lower Colorado River: a narrow arch with long parallel sides to
which transverse rods were lashed and provided with a broad
hood of basketry. The supplemental articles needed to cradle the
child were a bark mattress, a pad to go under the shoulders,
cloths with which to wrap the infant, and two bands to bind it to
the cradle frame (Pl. XV).

The cradle showed the sex of the infant at several points: by [562]
the spacing of the cross-pieces of the frame, the decoration of the
hood and the objects tied to it, and the design of the upper binding
band. As a matter of fact, they used what they pleased in
assembling a cradle. A specimen in use for a little girl, which I
bought,[2] had been made for an older brother. It had a boy's
frame, while the hood and band were those of a girl. But it
lacked the extra mattress required for a girl.

The arch of the frame was tough mesquite root, bent into
shape and tied until it dried. The transverse rods were arrowweed,
lashed to the arch and wrapped with split small roots of
mesquite, chosen because of its strength. These rods were not
long enough to rest on the arch, but lay between its side arms.
The lashing passed twice around one arm, was wrapped around [284]
the rod for its whole length, wound twice around the opposite
arm, and the free end tucked under the lashing (Pl. XV, *b*). A [462]
man was requested to lash the rods since it took great strength to
get the lashings taut. The number of cross pieces depended on the
sex of the infant: for a boy these were seven or eight evenly [856]
spaced; for a girl one less, leaving a wider space about the middle
of the frame, so that the girl would grow up to have fleshy buttocks.

The mattress was made of broad strips of willow bark arranged in three bundles, each bent in an arch and tied (Pl. XV, *c*).

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[2] Washington State Museum, No. 2-11913.

563
727 someone of the Maricopa community, their captive origin was no longer brought up against them.

867 Admonition was frequently given children. Kutox phrased the ideals of life as follows:

> We would tell a boy to grow up strong and brave, to love his neighbors and to be industrious. When a child was old enough, it was told to treat old people kindly; to share whatever it had with an old woman who could not help herself; never to throw things at an old woman. Boys should try to become famous in war. Girls were told to be industrious and kind to everyone. Girls were looked on as enemies; they were called that (see p. 225).

185 One thing appeared clearly from discussion, that, unlike ourselves, a parent did not feel that his child should climb to a higher social position than his own, or amass more wealth. "They did not seem to look ahead."

[721] Warfare was an ideal pursuit.

> [888] Fathers told their sons to go to war. It was good to die young: everyone mourned if one was killed in war. But an old man receives scant attention and nobody cares if he dies (said Kutox, himself aged).

866 Little boys of four to six were trained to withstand pain with this end in view. They were tested by pinching them hard or striking with a stick. The procedure may have been somewhat formalized, for it was said that several boys were tested together by an old man. If they did not cry out when struck, they were next placed on an ant hill to be bitten and finally pushed into a wasps' or bees' nest. It was taken as a sign that they would become brave warriors, if they did not cry. This procedure had no special name and was distinct from the following.

866
883 A group of boys of sixteen or eighteen were subjected to a formal test called tcutŏ′xâm by old warriors. They were admonished to be brave, to withstand starvation, thirst, and fatigue, and were told how to fight. The song tcutŏ′xâm (p. 26[illegible]) was sung before the boys were taken to kill a swarm of bees hiving in the ground or in a hollow cottonwood. They were made to sit on the hive and deliberately kill all the bees, one at a time, regardless of their stings. This represented going to war, the bees being the enemy. This was not ostensibly a puberty ceremony.[30]

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[171] [30] There is an analog in the ant ordeal for boys among Luiseño and Juaneño (Kroeber, *Handbook*, pp. 641, 672).

The cradle was carried about a great deal, not used as by Zuñi 482 854 and Havasupai, e.g., primarily as a convenient place for the child to sleep. It was carried lying flat, either balanced on the head or under the arm supported on the hip. For the first two months, it was not carried on the head, because that would make the navel sore, they thought. It was not only customary to balance it on the head without holding, but it was sometimes even perched on top of a load carried on the head, e.g., on an overloaded carrying basket of mesquite beans. Under the arm, the cradle lay flat with the infant's head forward. It was never stood upright on the hip. It was not provided with a carrying-strap, because it was never transported on the back.

Bartlett remarked (1852):

> I have seen them [women] in camp with a basket of green corn on their heads, and on top of this the cradle and child. When it gets to be about a year old, it is carried astride on the hip, the mother holding one arm around its body.[6]

Women were seen rocking cradles in a characteristic fashion. 854 The woman, seated on the ground with her legs straight out before her, ankles crossed, laid the cradle crosswise on her lap. She first rocked it end for end with her hands; then continued the motion by slightly lifting the thighs alternately.

At home the baby was kept in a swing, whether in its cradle[7] or not. This was made in the manner of the Pima:[8] a doubled mes- [171] cal fiber rope was fastened between two posts of the house or shade, with a cloth folded securely over its two halves. Baby or cradle was laid flat on this.

The mattress was always kept under the small of the baby's [856] back, in or out of the cradle, until it was six months old, so that it would not become humpbacked.

When the cradle was outgrown, it was kept for the next child or given to a relative who had need of it. Should the infant die, [768] the cradle was broken up and buried close to the spot where the corpse was cremated. The cradle itself was not burned.

The several parts of the cradle were named as follows: haϑi'k, 192 854

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[6] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 231, 253.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 254.

[8] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 156.

561 infancy, pre-adolescence and puberty, on parenthood, and on reaching the status of grandparenthood or menopause.

For example, Charlie Redbird, newly made a grandfather, was called kwuʀâŏ'k, to the amusement of his second wife, although he was only in his late forties.

TABLE IX

	Males	Females
Infant of either sex to about 4 years old..	xuma' ʀâ*	
A boy from 4 years to puberty (change of voice); a girl from 4 to 8 years.........	xuma'ʀâikl'ṇ	xuma'ʀâx̣atcl'ṇ
Until a first child was born...............	mâx̣ai'	mâcâx̣ai'
Adult................................	ipa'	álnyâŏ'k
Old age (after a man had a grandchild; a woman reached menopause)...........	kwuʀâŏ'k	ŏk,yoi'

*Cf. xumai', a man's son.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS

171 881 Puberty observances concerned girls alone: there was no comparable rite for boys unless the bee-killing ordeal be so considered. Nor, since the vision quest was almost wholly absent, was this an appropriate occasion for obtaining power. The girl's rite aligns with those of southern California in its emphasis on concern for the girl's future physiological well-being, with the [184] "roasting" of the girl an essential. Like the Mohave, the girl was not sung over, but unlike them, and on the other hand like other southern Californians and the upland peoples of Arizona, a dance was held and the girl forced to run at dawn toward the east. On the whole, the impression prevails that here the girl's rite was relatively unimpressive and unimportant.

881 At her first period, a girl was secluded in a little lodge for eight days. During this period she sat all day long (but did not lie), doing nothing, until late in the evening when she was allowed to sleep. She remained alone, so that she would have no one to talk with and thus would avoid growing garrulous. They did not sing

Kohuana
Mohave
Halchidhoma

881 ciently warm in the air. The hut itself was kept warm at all times. The crescentic stone of the southern California Indians used in such "baking" was unknown here.[12]

According to an elderly Maricopa woman, Josepha Juan, on the other hand, the running was confined to the second set of four days. When she ran to a distant point in the east and stopped, her companions clapped a hand over her mouth, so that she had to breathe through her nose. Then they ran back. A [535] dance was made on each of these four days. A line of girls faced a line of men, the menstruant taking her position at the middle of the line of girls. The lines moved backward and forward. The [533] song used was peculiar to the rite: both song and dance were called tatuma'np. Last Star, an old Kaveltcadom-Maricopa, said this song was tatuma'npı̆g, a Maricopa song contrasting with the Kohuana tuma'np, sung at the scalp dance. Tatuma'npı̆g referred to purifying the girl, making her strong, industrious, dignified, kind, gentle, able to withstand thirst, run well, etc.[13]

It may well be that we are dealing with a tribal distinction here; the rite devoid of dance, like the Mohave,[14] being Halchidhoma; with the dance, Maricopa.

[304] At the end of the eight-day period, the girl was tattooed.

841 The whole performance was repeated at subsequent menstruations until the girl married; four, five or six times. Should she not marry for several years the performance was nevertheless continued. Throughout the whole period she remained single, not only during the periodic illnesses, salt and meat continued tabu and the scratcher must be used.

343 The puberty hut was built expressly for the first rite at some [881] distance from the dwelling. It was kept for later use as a menstrual shelter. This was much like the storage house, but the

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[12] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 865.

[171] [13] Kroeber (*ibid.*, pp. 786–87) records Diegueño Tu-tomunp as the equivalent of Mohave and Cocopa Tumanpa, with Tomanp as an alternative name. His Mohave informants identified it as their "Long Tumanpa," one of the forms of the Tumanpa song-series.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 748.

522 533 carry home the venison, if we kill this deer." So they all seated themselves around the hole. He ran fast until he got behind the bushes, then sauntered home. The women were left sitting instead of filling their baskets. They waited, watching, until they discovered they had been fooled and reached home late in the day with empty baskets.[26]

Informants knew nothing of puns. Occasional humorous incidents based on unintentional confusion of words occurred, of course.

Two old men, boon companions, always caught quail together. One went away for a time. On his return he asked his companion how quail (ax̣ma') catching was. The other replied that he did not know what quantity he had grown, thinking the reference was to black-eyed peas (ax̣ma'). This was a current story to poke fun at the one who had confused them.

516 A very characteristic habit of old women, seated on the ground, was to rest the left elbow on the knee and pass the heel of the left hand upward over the face, running the fingers up the forehead and through the front hair. Women constantly hold the left hand over the mouth or chin while sitting about. I did not observe this as a gesture of embarrassment in either sex.

Women were repeatedly seen idly seated on the ground, pounding the hard crust of ground around them as far as they could reach; all to no useful purpose. I never saw a man do this. Another characteristic trait was for a woman, observing ants crawling near, to brush them away with the back of her fingers, the hand held vertically, not kill them.

Women sat on the ground with their legs crossed "Turk-fashion," the outside edges of the feet flat on the ground, or with their legs drawn back and crossed under them so that they were sitting on their feet rather than on their shins. They also sat with both legs folded back under them and extending to the right. The last two were normal work positions when grinding, making pottery, and the like. [171] Sometimes they sat with their legs stretched out straight in front, ankles crossed (Pueblo-style and also Mohave), even with the feet somewhat raised. This was shifted into one leg straight forward, the other folded back and to one side. [177] I did not have an opportunity to observe the male counterpart of these

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[26] Other humorous anecdotes are cited above (p. 46).

574 turn inquire how the host was feeling. An infrequent visitor 576 might tell of the death of a relative, when the host would cry with him in sympathy. (But there was no formal tear salutation such as Russell describes for the Pima.[17]) If a visitor was met outside the house, he was greeted, "Spread your news [gânavŏk, 'talk!']!" If only women were at home, they would invite the guest to eat but would not question him. On leaving, a visitor says, "I came to see you and find your people are well. I feel good to see them well: I am happy. I spent the day well. I am [201] going home now." They shook hands on parting, calling each other again by kinship terms with not another word. (I saw this performance repeatedly and was impressed with the extreme parsimony of the exchange of salutations.)

482 Carrying habits followed sex-differentiated patterns. A woman invariably carried burdens balanced on her head, usually supported on a ring-shaped pad of cloth. In this fashion, they carried pots of water, baskets of mesquite, or the cradle, the last even perched on top of a basket loaded beyond its brim. On the other hand, a man never carried anything on his head: a log, for instance, rested on the shoulder.[18] Women also carried articles at the small of the back in a cloth tied around the waist, in the fash- ● [171] ion of the Pueblos and Havasupai, but men never did so. On journeys a man carried water in a gourd tied to the left side of the belt by a cord tied around its neck, the gourd stoppered with a corn cob. When a man and woman travelled together, "he let her carry everything." Women were, in fact, adept carriers. The carrying net of southern California and the netted frame of the Pima and Papago were unknown.

532 They never hesitated to draw diagrams on the ground for me and were not concerned to wipe them away, unlike the Havasupai.

572 A special relation of friendship sometimes united men. "They

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[114] [17] *Pima Indians*, p. 200. I think we may doubt that the Pima practice was anything more than what is here described for the Maricopa.

[18] Curiously enough, Garcés' Halchidhoma travelling companion of 1774, who had both hands occupied, carried a jug of water on his head (Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 387).

222 co" (hatâluwɛ̆'nl̆tcâu'v), which was gathered when there was no more of the cultivated plant available.

249 Very little tobacco was grown; "in little patches," "a few plants." It was
planted in the spring after the rains; digging little holes, hoeing and weeding by
hand. The informant had never heard of planting the seeds in ashes. As the
leaves ripened, were large enough, they were plucked; other leaves matured,
until the plant shriveled in the summer heat. Leaves were used, rarely the stems.
276 They were dried, broken up, and stored in little pots, covered with a sherd that
just fitted. Tobacco was usually carried about in a little deerskin sack or, since
[237] cattle were introduced, in a cow horn. (Mountain sheep horns were not used
prior to this.)

Kutox may have been referring to Pima cultivation or to some slight imitation by the Maricopa.

GAMES AND SPORTS

526 Like the Pueblos, kicking races and gambling games were considered
[171] the most important contests and were bet on heavily.
Kicking races at least figured intertribally. There was the usual
unequal division of games and sports between the sexes, with the
preponderance in favor of men. While this was perhaps predictable
in the matter of sports, it was certainly arbitrary that men
had more games. They played at hoop and pole, at ball, and
[524] raced, and for sedentary games had dice, cañute, and the hand
game. Only double-ball shinny and their own form of the dice
[562] game were peculiar to women. The same disparity appears in
boys' sports *versus* girls', but here there is every reason to think
that children's sports are badly represented in what follows, although
I made specific inquiries for them. The hidden ball game,
ring and pin, and string figures were pastimes for everyone. All
[525] other adult games were inseparable from betting, with the possible
exception of the ball game, i.e., the men's form of shinny,
which, as a matter of fact, was a lackadaisical, unorganized affair.
Basket dice, which might have been expected among the Maricopa,
was missing.

The pattern of a race, as elsewhere in the Southwest, was to a given point and return. This appeared, for instance, in kicking races and relays.

In the kicking race (hul̆nya'vȧ) they made use of a ball, not a stick. This, called sȧ'a'n, was manufactured by dipping a stone, an inch and a half in diameter, repeatedly into melted gum until it grew to the size of our baseballs. For this purpose they used the red gum of a medicinal plant and that which exudes at the 526 base of arrowweeds, melting it in a potsherd. Two runners would stand, and at a signal, would each kick off their balls, racing with them to a selected point and back. It was thrown with the foot; the toes shoveled under it in the manner of the Pueblo [171] kicking-stick, not kicked along the ground.

Kicking race contests with the Pima were frequent: several of 526 them were noted in the annals (p. 141). Each tribe selected its 648 best runner and bet heavily on him. Each was assisted by a good runner who was sent ahead, armed with a stick, before they started. The ball might be kicked off into the bushes, when the helper, who ran ahead of the racer, could strike it back into the path. These helpers would run only halfway to the distant point, rarely the whole distance. The losing tribe would always be the challenger to the next race, which was held at the victors' village.

Magic was freely used to thwart the opposing racer: as they 526 said, this was the time people found out who were shamans. 648 756

The Pima shamans would do things to our racer. For instance, one of them 789 would secretly sprinkle a reed full of water on the Maricopa racer before the race started "in order to drown him" so that he could not run. Or they would run ahead of him and draw a line across his path, so that he would imagine it a deep canyon which he could not cross. One of our men would clear it away by pulling a string across the line as though making a bridge. Both sides did this sort of thing to the other.

Recently a Maricopa shaman, Buffalo Bill, drew a line before the runners: "he dragged that mountain [Sierra Estrella] across there." The Maricopa racer got by, but when the Pima came up, he stood stock still: he did not know what to do. The Pima took him around the "mountain," i.e., the line, so he could race on.

A Maricopa racer told what happened to him. He was ahead of the Pima racer. Every time the latter came abreast of him, the Pima racer breathed hard. Then the Maricopa felt out of breath, as though his chest would burst, although he had not run far. A Pima bystander laid a switch lightly against the small of this Maricopa's back. He felt it as a big log: he could hardly move. Then the Pima on horses rode with their runner, while the Maricopa runner, trailing behind, just walked along. When the others saw this, a Maricopa shaman spurred up and switched him twice with a rope, whereon he found he could burst into topspeed. The Pima were so sure that they were winning that they started to take the Maricopa stakes, when the Maricopa runner dashed up and won the race.

Relay races were held, on which they bet. These were called 526 ma'takovåk,i'wŭm. Runners of each side were posted at two 648 [525] points between which they ran. Maricopa runners did not wear

524 piles.) The other guessed whether the stone was at the middle or end. If he was correct, it was his turn to hide it; otherwise the first hid it again. (Counters were not used.)

The widely known cañute game (called ax̣ta'mtatuθu'līk, "reed hiding") was here as usual a man's game.[33] According to Kutox it was also played by the Halchidhoma before leaving the Colorado, who when playing it, were so intent that they would not heed the enemy approaching. Four sections of arrowreed were obtained, cut so that one end alone was closed by a node. Marks were burned into them; any designs being used so long as they were placed at the proper points. My informant described one as marked for its whole length with transversely encircling lines, the second with such lines only at its open end, the third with a longitudinal wavy line at the middle, and the fourth plain. They were named as shown in Table X.

TABLE X

Marked	Named
Entire length......	kwīnaåŏ'kc, "old man"
Plain.............	akoi', "old woman"
At center..........	tox̣kwīnyo'æc, "middle figures"
At open end.......	hiya'kwīnyo'æc, "mouth figures"

A tiny length of arrowweed or a pellet of charcoal was hidden in one of these tubes and all four filled with dirt. The hidden object was called nᵧåx̣at, "my dog." Any number of counting sticks were used: each side had a bundle of 75 to 100. Four men played on a side.

To begin the game, each side was provided with a pair of tubes: "old man" and "old woman" *versus* the other pair. Each side hid a pellet in one of the tubes they held and both guessed in which tube their opponents had hidden it. The winners then took all four tubes and hiding a pellet in one of them, while they remained concealed under a cloth drawn over their knees, threw them down before their opponents.

[171] The usual form of the game in the Southwest calls for the

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[114] [33] Culin recorded the game under the name ta-thulah (*Games*, p. 370). His name for one of the tubes kota-aks, "old man," was not recognized by my informants.

guesser to find the pellet in the third tube chosen, when the privilege of hiding passed to him. For each failure to set aside an empty tube, he loses points. My information is that the Maricopa desired to leave the pellet in the fourth tube. This was apparently the usual Pima and Papago objective.[23] If the guesser was mistaken in setting aside the first tube he chose as empty, he lost ten points; for the second tube, six; and for the third, four. If he succeeded in leaving it in the fourth tube, the set of tubes passed to his side, otherwise the privilege of hiding remained with the first side. The markings of the tubes made no difference, only the order of choice counted. 524 [171]

The tubes were not arranged in patterns, as by Pueblo players, with a single exception, in which the Maricopa again resembled Pima and Papago. The guesser might cross one pair of tubes and place the other two side by side pointing toward the cross. This implied that the pellet was in one of the parallel pair. If however, it was actually in the upper of the crossed tubes, he lost ten points; if in the lower, six. Again the markings of tubes did not matter. [171]

An alternative method of scoring depending on which tube was chosen was given by Charlie Redbird. If the guesser erred in the tube he chose, he gave up its face value in counters. The tubes had the values: "old man," 25; "old woman," 10(?); "middle figures," 15; "mouth figures," 6.

The women's dice game was played by two women seated opposite, each with a flat stone before her and a row of small stones on each side of her arranged in a semi-circle from her body to the slab. Four dice were provided. These were split sticks of cottonwood or arrowweed (not made of bone). The flat faces of all four were painted red, their convex faces unpainted or black. One woman began by bouncing the four dice, clenched together in her [illegible] on her slab. If they fell all red faces up, it counted five for her; if all blacks up, ten; if two of a kind up, two. One of a kind was a miss, the throw then passing to the other woman. My informants did not fully know how points were counted on the rows of stones, but it seems that at least a little stick was laid on the stone representing the number counted off. For example, if

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[23] See Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 352.

524 the throw counted five, the stick was advanced to the fifth stone. The number of pebble markers was unknown, but there may have been twelve in each semi-circle. The game was sometimes played without markers, when there would be only a single slab for both women to bounce the dice on. The game was named tatu'ʀucĭ'k for the markers in rows or utcĭmpu'm, "bouncing them": the dice, otŏ'x̣c.

The men's dice game was similar, but it was a betting game
[525] played in winter. My informants knew it by no other name than
[192] Spanish *quince*, "fifteen," the common name throughout the
[171] Southwest. The opposing pair were seated on the ground, each with a row of twenty-five shallow pits beginning at his right hand and extending in a curve toward his opponent where it ended in a loop (Fig. 15). A stick or stone served as a marker in the pits: it was called nᵧâx̣a'tk, "my horse (? dog), pet." The four dice were flattened sections of mesquite root, about seven inches long, bearing marks burned into one face (Pl. XIII, *d*). They were known by the numbers they scored; collectively they were called *quinze*. The dice were held clenched in the right hand and struck from below with a stone held in the left. The die with a longitudinal zigzag counted twenty-five; with a mark at the middle, fifteen; that marked at each end with two lines crossed with an oblique line, six; and with simple transverse lines at each end, four. If any marked face alone was up, it scored its face value. But if any two marked faces were up, it scored two; three up, scored three. When all four unmarked faces were up, the set went to the opponent to throw. When the marker had reached the end of one

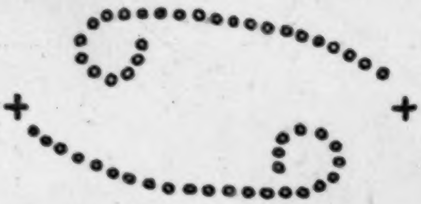

Fig. 15.—Diagram of men's dice game (crosses mark position of players)

to instruct the people. He was then called kwĭstămxo′. This was 539 after he had talked to Coyote [p. 143].

COYOTE[10]

After the destruction of the big house at the time of the creation, everyone was scattered over the world. Among them were namĕ′t and namĕ′t hatagu′lt.[11] They moved but a little way from their house, and said, "After the destruction of a house (after a cremation), humans will not move very far. They will go just a little way and make a new home." So they went a little distance and stopped. They made a home there. Namet, the older, stood still. They used his old body for a house: his four legs were the posts; his backbone was the mainpost that held all the weight of the house; his mouth was a door. Then he got out in some fashion so as to leave the old body standing as their house. The two brothers lived there.

When Coyote recovered from his sickness, he was as thin as could be. He was going along to the west. The two brothers wondered where he had gone. Coyote was their younger brother. They wondered if he had been killed for his behavior. They had no other way of finding out where he was, so they burnt deer grease. The wind blew it hard in one direction, south. Then as Coyote was traveling he caught the odor. (He is also called saʀâmiyo′.)[12] He said, "My brothers are wondering where I am. Sure enough, I caught the smell of it and know where they are. Then by following the odor, I will get there."

When they were settled there, those two had no food. By their power they caused rain so that everything would come up: all kinds of weeds. They used these for food. To make rain, the older, Namet, took an arrow; stuck it far down in the ground and

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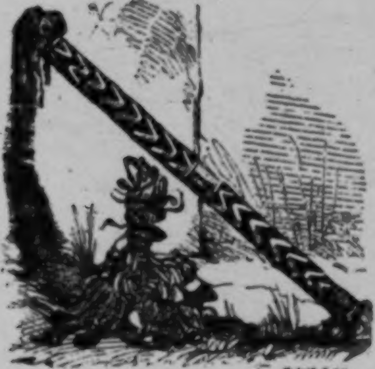
[10] This was told, and certainly thought of, as continuing the creation tale.

[11] Both of these are large cats; neither is the jaguar (namĕ′t kâtea′s). They [325] may be two subspecies of cougar, possibly the California and Yuma cougars. Namĕ′t was described as as large as the biggest dog, having a long tail and long sharp claws, solid buff or gray in color; namĕ′t hatagu′lt (hatagu′lt, wolf) as exactly like namĕ′t but a little taller.

[12] Cf. the Yuma myth name for Coyote, Xuksaraviyō′u (Harrington, *Yuma* [71] *Account of Origins*, p. 339) and the Mohave θaʀâvi′yo.

RY 584 as his means will permit, to compensate them for the loss of their daughter, whose services are to them a matter of consequence.

RY [534]



Indian Flute, and Rattle of Deer's Hoofs.

RY P 462 [171] Among both the Coco-Maricopas and the Pimos, the women do the principal part of the work. Besides taking care of the children and attending to the household matters, they grind the corn, make baskets, gather mezquit beans, help till the ground, and sometimes spin and weave.

RY P 412 [177] The men plant and gather the crops, and take care of the animals. This I believe is all they do; and as the performance of these duties is not a very onerous task, they are idle the greater portion of the time. Their implements of husbandry are steel hoes and axes which they obtain from the Mexicans, harrows, and occasionally a long-handled spade. Grinding corn on the *metates*, or stones, is a work of great labor, and comes hard on the poor women, who are obliged to get upon their knees, and exert the whole strength of their arms

[PP. 239-260 not processed]

CHAPTER XXXII.

INDIANS OF THE GILA, AND THE CASAS GRANDES.

History of the Coco-Maricopas and Pimos—Origin of their semi-civilization—Difference of languages—Their number—Physical peculiarities—Deserving the attention of Christians and philanthropists—Early accounts of these Indians—First described by Father Kino in 1697—Sedelmayer's visit to them in 1744—Father Font's in 1775—Visit to the Casas Grandes of the Gila—Description of those ruins—Evidences of a former large population—Irrigating canals—Broken pottery—Father Font's description of their buildings—Singular error in relation to their dimensions—Kino and Mangi's visit to them in 1694—Notion of the Aztec origin of these buildings not well founded—Excessive heat. OVD

P
RY
171

HAVING now left these peaceable semi-civilized Indians, a few general remarks respecting them seem to be required.

Some writers have endeavored to point out physical differences between the Pimos and their allies the Coco-Maricopas; but I must confess, that after being constantly with them for thirteen days, I was unable to distinguish one from the other, except by some slight difference in the method of wearing their hair. Their modes of life, as before remarked, are the same, with the exception of their funeral rites. In the valley, or rather bottom-land, which they occupy, there is no

P
RY dividing line between them; nor is there any distinguishing character in their villages.
171 I consider that the arts of spinning and weaving, and of making pottery, now practised by both tribes, and in which they are equally expert, originated with the Pimos, who inherited this knowledge from their ancestors; and that from the earliest period, doubtless for centuries, they have occupied portions of the same valley where we now find them. In leaving their villages, I noticed on the edge of the plateau traces of former habitations, which had been abandoned for a great length of time.

P
RY The Coco-Maricopas took up their abode in the valley immediately adjoining the Pimos about thirty
177 years since, from a point lower down the Gila, where
648 they were exposed to the constant attacks of the Yumas and Apaches, which tribes, in consequence of their greater numbers, had nearly annihilated them. They came hither for protection, and formed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Pimos. They found the latter possessing the arts of weaving, of building more comfortable dwellings, of making better pottery, enjoying a more peaceful mode of life, than that to which they had been accustomed. These arts and
P
RY habits the Maricopas gradually adopted. Their languages
[197] are totally different, so much so that I was
[764] enabled to distinguish them when spoken. The former is soft and melodious, the latter harsh and guttural. The Pimos bury their dead, while the Coco-Maricopas burn theirs. These peculiarities stamp them as distinct nations.

P
RY I have not cited the agriculture of these tribes as superior to that of all other Indians; although I may
241

5:Hodge E-4 (no date)1959
NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

101 Maricopa being their Pima name.
175 Emory states that they have moved gradually from the Gulf of California to their
present location in juxtaposition with the
175 Pima, Carson having found them, as late
648 as 1826, at the mouth of the Gila. They
joined the Pima, whose language they do
not understand, for mutual protection

[142]
[302]

MARICOPA WOMAN. (AM. MUS. NAT. HIST.)

against their kindred, but enemies, the
Yuma, and the two have ever since lived
peaceably together. In 1775 the Maricopa and the Yuma were at war, and as
late as 1857 the latter, with some Mohave
and Yavapai, attacked the Maricopa near
Maricopa Wells, s. Ariz., but with the
aid of the Pima the Maricopa routed the
Yuma and their allies, 90 of the 93 Yuma
warriors being killed. After this disaster
the Yuma never ventured so far up the
101 Gila. Heintzelman states, probably cor-
[114] rectly, that the Maricopa are a branch of
the Cuchan (Yuma proper), from whom
they separated on the occasion of an election of chiefs (H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 34th
Cong., 1857). Like the Pima, the Mari-
● [171] copa are agriculturists, and in habits and
customs are generally similar to them.
175 Venegas (Hist. Cal., II, 182, 185, 192, 1759)
131 states that about 6,000 Pima and Cocomaricopa lived on Gila r. in 1742, and that
they extended also to the Salado and the
161 Verde; they are also said to have had
some rancherias on the w. side of Colorado r., in a valley 36 leagues long.
Garcés estimated the population at 3,000
in 1775. There were only 350 under the
Pima school superintendent, Arizona, in
1905.

175 By act of Feb. 28, 1859, a reservation
648 was set apart for the Maricopa and the

[P.806A]